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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1977

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CONTENTS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

December 1981 Issue of SED Theoretical Journal Reviewed
(Volkmar Bachmann; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 11 Dec 81)..... 1

SED Politburo's Kurt Hager Interprets Hegel
(Kurt Hager; EINHEIT, Dec 81)..... 3

Collection of Hager's 1972-1981 Speeches, Essays Published
(Hans Dieter Maede; EINHEIT, Dec 81)..... 18

Development, Prospects of Medical, Social Services Assessed
(Ludwig Mecklinger; EINHEIT, Dec 81)..... 22

Effectiveness of Labor Code Reviewed
(EINHEIT, Dec 81)..... 33

Summaries of Other Major 'EINHEIT' Articles
(Otto Reinhold; EINHEIT, Dec 81)..... 40

Worker Militia Training Results for 1981 Reviewed
(DER KAEMPFER, Nov 81)..... 43

Socialist Realism To Be Applied 'More Precisely' to Music
(IWE-TAGESDIENST, 10 Dec 81; SONNTAG, 6 Dec 81)..... 48

West German Commentary
Cultural Policy Paper's Article, by Gerhard Mueller

DECEMBER 1981 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Dec 81 p 4

[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, December 1981, signed to press 11 November 1981, pp 1185-1287 plus 9-page annual index: "Making Use of Socialism's Advantages." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The ten keypoints of economic strategy adopted by the 10th SED Congress are the yardstick for our actions to develop the GDR's national economy in the 1980's. They virtually run through nearly all the contributions of the December issue of EINHEIT. In the first contribution, Otto Reinhold discusses in 'The Topic' feature section the question of how to link even more strongly and convincingly the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. In five points he proves that these advantages objectively exist. He emphasizes, however, that they do not become effective all by themselves, so-to-speak automatically, but that it takes the appropriate ways and means, the endeavors of the whole of society, to bring them fully to bear.

In the next contribution, Hans Modrow discusses the task of making the working people aware of socialism's great potential and the need to develop this potential fully, as a task of party work in the struggle for scientific-technical progress.

Other EINHEIT articles deal with such subjects as "Effective Combination of Science and Technology [sic; title reads 'Science and Production'] in the Combine" (by Fritz Haberland) and "Demands Posed by Microelectronics" (by Egon Heusing), or analyze "Scientific-Technical Progress Viewed Through the Distorting Mirror of Bourgeois Futurologists" (by Eberhard Fromm).

Issue No 12 also carries Kurt Hager's speech at Humboldt University in Berlin on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the death of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. In his speech, Hager substantiates that Hegel's legacy is in good hands in the GDR and that the German philosopher's greatest achievement has been the resumption and development of dialectics.

In addition to contributions about the peace struggle and information on the Labor Code, replies to questions concerning the UN Law of the Sea Conference, and reviews of new books, EINHEIT No 12 carries the traditional annual index.

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SED POLITBURO'S KURT HAGER INTERPRETS HEGEL

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1225-1237

[Text of speech by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; presented at the academic festival on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Hegel's death, sponsored by Humboldt University, East Berlin, and the GDR Academy of Sciences: "Hegel's Legacy Lies in Our Hands"]

[Text] Kurt Hager pays tribute to Hegel's epoch-making work, especially to his greatest achievement: the resumption and development of dialectics. Positively preserved by Marx and Engels, Hegel's dialectics became one of the theoretical sources of Marxism-Leninism and thereby attained its world historic effect. While taking issue with the bourgeois Hegel critique it is being shown why none but Marxism-Leninism could carry on the progressive legacy of classical German philosophy and what it means to make that legacy fruitful in our era in safeguarding peace, further shaping the developed socialist society, and struggling for social progress.

This academic festival pays homage to the great German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of his death. His epoch-making work has decisively affected and enriched our intellectual culture, especially our philosophic thought.

Hegel, who after finishing his study of theology at the Tuebingen Stift worked as a tutor in a patrician family in Bern and a merchant's family in Frankfurt (Main), as a Privatdozent and professor extraordinarius at Jena University, as the editor of BAMBERGER ZEITUNG, as the rector of the Aegidien-gymnasium in Nuremberg and professor in Heidelberg, in 1818 accepted the chair of philosphy at Berlin University, vacant since the death of Fichte. From 1829 to 1830 he was the rector of the Berlin Alma Mater, whose glory he enhanced as did many other scholars. He died of cholera on 14 November 1831.

In Hegel we honor an outstanding representative of classical bourgeois German philosophy. Along with Kant and Fichte it mainly was Hegel's work that became a theoretical source of our Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. By paying tribute to Hegel we contribute to our fostering the cultural humanistic legacy which belongs among the principles of our socialist society, as asserted in the SED Party Program: "Everything great and noble, humanistic and revolutionary, is being preserved in honor and extended in the GDR in being vividly related to the tasks of the present."[1] The more we advance in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, the more deeply we mine the historic legacy to which we are committed; and the more strongly do we perceive the responsibility for solving the tasks before us.

In the preface to his "Elements of the Philosophy of Right" Hegel writes: "As to the individual, each is in any case a child of his times; and so philosophy likewise is its time, conceived in thought."[2] As an individual cannot detach himself from the historic era in which he lives, and from society, even though he may fancy he can, a philosophy, as a world-outlook, cannot at all be completely comprehended without their origin in and impact on their time.

Hegel was contemporary to fundamental social changes that mark in their totality the definitive transition from the feudal to the bourgeois-capitalist society. The industrial revolution in England led to the breakthrough of the new productive forces of that society. The French Revolution and Napoleon's rule ensured the political power of the haute bourgeoisie. The national liberation movements, the restoration after the Congress of Vienna, the revival of oppositional democratic aspirations and, finally, the July revolution of 1830 in France were the outstanding events of social and political development that mark the time in which Hegel lived.

Like the friends of his youth, Hoelderlin and Schelling, like Goethe, Schiller and most representatives of German intellectual life, Hegel welcomed the French Revolution with enthusiasm. Already during his studies he had made himself thoroughly familiar with the ideas of the English, French and German Enlightenment about the progress of history. To him the French Revolution was the materialization of those ideas because there the demand was raised for the first time that social relations be organized according to the principles of reason.

The enthusiasm about the French Revolution was tempered on account of the plebeian, revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the Jacobins 1793/94, and except for a few, like Georg Foster, German intellectuals reacted to that event with misunderstanding and, partly, with horror. But even thereafter Hegel never turned against the French Revolution, being deeply convinced of its being historically necessary, as he conceived of it, after all, as the foundation for bourgeois society and culture. Still in 1822 and subsequently, in his "Lectures on the Philosophy of World History," he celebrated the French Revolution in exuberant words as a magnificent sunrise. "A lofty emotion ruled at that time," he said, "awe-inspiring the world with an enthusiasm of spirit as if only now the world had been reconciled with the divine."[3] As a world historic event the French Revolution caused Hegel to celebrate the bourgeois revolution not only as a triumph of reason but to uncover that triumph in its inevitability.

After the disappointment with the Jacobin dictatorship, Hegel placed his hope on Napoleon, whom he saw as the instrument of the "world spirit" or the "world soul," appointed to bring the ideas of the revolution to realization, and to illuminate the German darkness, to eliminate the feudal abuses and national fragmentation of Germany. Hegel lived in a country that was broken up into many independent large and small states and was extremely backward in economic, social and political respects. The preconditions for a bourgeois-democratic revolution had not yet become ripe in Germany. All one could do was apply the ideologies and illusions of the French Revolution to German circumstances. A genuine social revolution was replaced by a revolution in thought. That one, to be sure, was carried out thoroughly by Hegel.

The genesis of the new bourgeois society, in addition to the French Revolution, expressed itself mainly in the industrial revolution in England, which Friedrich Engels described as follows: "While in France a tempest of revolution swept the country, a more quiet transformation took place in England, no less important, by that token. Steam power and new machine tools transformed manufacture into modern large-scale industry, revolutionizing the whole foundation of bourgeois society. The sleepy pace of the maufacturing era turned into a genuine storm-and-stress period of production."[4]

The natural sciences also paved a way for great changes at the time. Back in 1755, in his "General Natural History and Theory of the Heavens," Kant had set down the idea of the development of nature, without finding any acceptance. When in the early 19th century the science spectrum broadened, the view of the world based on classical mechanics increasingly blocked any understanding of the inherent connections and interactions among the natural sciences.

Hegel not only most deeply understood the character of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic rule, he also was the only German philosopher of the time who, under the impact of the industrial revolution, thoroughly came to deal with the economic conditions in England and with the doctrines of English political economy, mainly with the doctrines of James D. Steuart and Adam Smith. Like them, he conceives of bourgeois society as the ultimate and definitive form of social historical development.

The study of English political economy brought him deep insights into the essence of labor. In his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts," Marx assessed that as follows: "Hegel shares the standpoint of the modern political economists. He conceives of labor as the essence, the relevant essence of man; he only sees the positive, not the negative, side of labor."[5]

Hegel was aware man changes things through his labor, his activity, to satisfy his needs and, doing so, changes himself, unfolds the capacities of his species. But he did not see that in bourgeois society labor has a negative side, which lies in the laborer's exploitation by the capitalist entrepreneur. He regarded the master-and-servitude relationship existing in this society, as revealed in the famous part in "Phenomenology of Spirit," as a spiritual relationship expressed in the two opposing forms of consciousness: "one with its own independent identity, against one identified by living or being for something else; the master on one side, the serf on the other."[6] Nonetheless, in understanding human

labor, human activity, as the force that moves history, Hegel actually comprehended the objective dialectic of social development more deeply than any other representatives of classical German philosophy.

The time in which Hegel lived was thus a time of revolutionary transformations, fierce class conflicts, bloody wars, profound technical and scientific changes, and critical contradictions in life. All these events and experiences exercised an important influence on the birth and growth of Hegel's philosophy, mainly on his dialectic. At the same time, Hegel's epoch-making work matured in coming to grips with Kant, Fichte and Schelling, with Romanticism and all other important intellectual currents of the age and, not last, through the critical absorption and preservation of the whole intellectual legacy of philosophy, history and art.

During the upheavals of the battle of Jena, Hegel, 36 years old, completed his "Phenomenology of Spirit," which Marx called the true birthplace of Hegel's philosophy. Then came, between 1812 and 1816, the "Science of Logic," in 1817, the "Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences," and in 1821, the "Philosophy of Right." After his death, Hegel's disciples published his lectures on the history of philosophy, on the philosophy of world history, on aesthetics and many other works.

The versatility and wealth of ideas of this truly ingenious scholar, his encyclopedic knowledge, and his exceptionally scientific thoroughness created the first comprehensive philosophical system, with which in the history of pre-Marxist philosophy one may compare, at best, only Aristotle's endeavors to create a total world-view. It is a system that reflects, through the highest abstraction, the contradictions, experiences and ideas of that historic era when the transition toward the bourgeois-capitalist society took place.

Hegel established insights into the nature of philosophy, its position in public life and its role in the social cognitive process that, in terms of their rational content, have lost none of their relevance. He assigned philosophy with the ambitious task to determine "the knowledge of the substantial in its time"[7] and to bring that to bear on social consciousness. He kept emphasizing that philosophy should have to be developed as a science, because, so he said in the preface to the "Phenomenology of Spirit": "The true form in which truth exists can only be the scientific system of it. To take part in having philosophy come closer to the form of science--the goal of being able to shed its name as love for knowledge and become real knowledge--is what I have assigned to myself."[8]

Yet to get up onto that plateau, consciousness must surmount many steps, all provinces of mind and reality must be explored and seen in their vital interconnection. The objective contemplation of things is necessary, entering into the core itself and its change and development. "For the cause is not exhausted in its purpose but in being implemented, nor is the result truly the real whole, but it together with its emergence,"[9] as the "Phenomenology of Spirit" puts it.

By rising from the abstract to the concrete, from simple determinants to ever richer ones, to combining many determinants, in which, as Hegel says, nothing remains behind but everything acquired remains extant, cognition rolls on from content to content. Marx, who called the method of rising from the abstract to

the concrete the mode in which thinking typically appropriates the concrete, criticized in Hegel that he thereby had fallen prey to the illusion he could "conceive the real as the outcome of thought, self-contained, self-engrossed, and moving from out of itself."[10]

Hegel is deeply convinced man has the capacity to arrive at truth through knowledge. He turns against Kant's view that if one wants to gain cognition one first should have to explore the nature and possibilities of cognition. One must start with cognition, without reservations, without first erecting barriers. The courage for the cognition of truth is to him the prime condition of philosophy. All his philosophic thought is marked by this optimism about cognition.

Hegel's greatest achievement is his resumption and elaboration of dialectics. The great distinction of Hegel's philosophy is, as Engels wrote, that in it for the first time "the whole natural, historical and intellectual world is presented as a process, conceived in constant motion, change, transformation and development, and the attempt is made to prove the inherent connection in this movement and development."[11] Lenin called Hegel's dialectic something enormous, called it the most comprehensive, substantive and profound doctrine on development, and always emphasized that for reasons of his dialectic Hegel had to be given high tribute.

Kant, Fichte and Schelling had introduced this significant advance in the philosophic thought of mankind. But only Hegel designed the universal dialectical development doctrine, turned the dialectic into the centerpiece of philosophy, by studying its laws and systematically and deliberately applying it as a method. This method, to be sure--as he wrote in his "Science of Logic"--was still apt to be perfected and to be much refined in particulars, but it was the only true method. "This becomes clear as such by that it does not differ in terms of subject matter or content;--because it is the content *a se*, the dialectic which it has in it, that moves it on. It is clear that no presentation can rate as scientific that does not pursue the course of this method and conforms to its simple rhythm, because that is the course of the cause itself."[12]

The core of the dialectic, its proper nature, is the doctrine on contradiction. For the essence of reality is that inherent contradictions attach to the things and to the determinants of reason, the concepts, that determine their automotion and development. If one then, as Hegel explains, arrives at a reconciliation of the contradictions, the explanation of it is that to him the laws of the dialectic are mere laws of thought, determinants of reason, which determine the essence of nature and history, of the things and of the finite. His dialectic is idealistic, its content therefore is the automotion of the categories that have spread apart owing to their inherent contradiction, by canceling out and converting into an opposite determinant. Hegel's logic stresses the dissolution of all rigid unequivocal meanings of separate concepts, the conversion of one concept into another.

Hegel's distinction doubtless was that he made the first attempt at a systematic and deliberate application of the dialectic and a study of its laws. Yet this dialectic of his, as Marx emphasized, had a mystifying aspect in relying on turning upside down all real connections, where the real world is derived from

the concept, from the idea. The dialectic of the real world, in Hegel, becomes a poor imitation of the dialectic of ideas. Objective reality is transformed into a world created and pervaded by the absolute idea. What we cognize in this world, he thinks, is its ideational content, the gradual realization of the absolute idea. The original, the truly living soul of the world is the absolute idea, which he accepts as a given without further explaining its origin but, time and time again, identifying it with God.

The absolute idea "externalizes" itself; it goes on a pilgrimage, as it were, through nature, history and human consciousness in order finally--thus enriched--to return again to itself. In nature it acts as a blind natural necessity, there--as Hegel thinks--is no development in time, no successiveness, but only juxtaposition. In history and human consciousness, it prevails in a process of advancing from the lower to the higher, which is propelled by internal contradictions, zigzag movements, temporary reversals, and marked by the transformation of quantitative into qualitative changes and many other diverse phenomena.

This objective idealism and this idealistic dialectic or, to put it differently, the system and the method cannot be separated from each other; they in their totality make up Hegel's philosophy. At the same time they stand in contradiction to each other. It is implied by this dialectic that everything must be understood as a contradictory process of constant change and development where there is nothing ever definitive. There is nothing rigid in this method, as Hegel shows through the example of the development of consciousness. "Here there are forms of consciousness each of which, by being realized, dissolves itself, has the negation of itself for its result--whereby it has entered into a higher form."[13] As this process, however, has its beginning and its end in the acts of the absolute idea, the cognition of which is the terminal of Hegel's philosophy, development itself thus is terminated by this philosophy.

This contradiction between the system and the method by no means rules out a penetrating understanding of social and historic processes, however. No longer did Hegel view history as a wild web of senseless acts of violence, but as a developmental process of mankind in step progression which brings the absolute idea, here appearing as the world spirit, to its realization.

The decisive thought that marked Hegel's thinking about history was that things had been reasonable in world history. Though his concept of reason has a mystical aura, Hegel means to express by it that an inevitable and necessary process of development is taking place in history. Reality, such as it has become, is not contingent but a stage in historic development. If in the name of reason a whole obsolete historic era is toppled in a revolution, reason cannot reside outside the historic actions by human individuals and peoples. With the profound historic interest that distinguished him, Hegel sought to show the working of reason in history and explain the necessity and inevitability of the human struggle for social progress philosophically.

From that standpoint Hegel remarked "that in world history by what men do something very different altogether results from what they intend and achieve, rather than what they know and want directly. Their interest is what they achieve. But something extra is being accomplished with it too, which withal lies in that it was not in their awareness and intention."[14]

Men's history issues forth from human actions, to be sure. But actions, passions, drives, to Hegel, are manifestations of reason inherent in social existence and its historic development. The "cunning of reason" has human interests and passions do its own bidding, and so the objective inevitability of social development comes to prevail through human activity, unconsciously to be sure, behind the back of the actors.

Hegel's philosophy had a lot to do with achieving the breakthrough of the awareness for the need of progress. That amounted to a bold ideological pleading for bourgeois transformations also in Germany, and that was the way many of his contemporary conceived of it as well.

But two reservations are needed here. For one thing, in Hegel's philosophy of history it is always a matter of the working of the "world spirit." That forms the internal connection among historic events. Historic progress lies in the progress of the idea of freedom and not in the material and political prerequisites for it, even if Hegel always also stressed the connection between freedom and necessity.

And then, Hegel, to be sure, had assigned philosophy with the task to "demonstrate a rational development in world history,"[15] but his political conclusions often were rather timid. The deep resignation by the aging Hegel about the tortuous and lengthy process of bourgeois transformations in Germany, however, by no means amounts to a refutation of the inevitable progress of the human species. His inclination to prefer reforms to the bourgeois transformation in Germany after Napoleon's overthrow is to be rated no less than the work of Stein and Hardenberg, Gneisenau and Scharnhorst. And if even the attempt is being made to declare Hegel's philosophy a Prussian state philosophy, i.e., the philosophy of a feudal-absolutistic regime, that, as Franz Mehring cogently remarked, was "of all the many ironies of world history probably one of the funniest ones,"[16] because, after all, Hegel's philosophy constitutes the optimum that could be said at his time philosophically to explain the necessity for the bourgeois society, for the rule of the bourgeoisie.

In the 1820's and 1830's Hegel's philosophy was the preeminent philosophy in Germany. Hegel's system, as Engels remarked, had a tremendous effect on the philosophically tinged atmosphere in Germany. To many it appeared as a justification of existing conditions, others, like Heinrich Heine, recognized or surmised its revolutionary core. When the conflict between the requirements of bourgeois society and the feudal-absolutistic circumstances that blocked that development, which were facilitated by the fragmentation of the country, intensified more and more and the bourgeois revolution was placed on the agenda, the Hegel school dissolved and split into a conservative and a radical democratic wing.

While the Young Hegelians retained their idealistic positions and, merely through their critique, especially in their conception of history, championed the contempt for the masses, the role of the individual and the change of circumstances, Ludwig Feuerbach opposed Hegel's philosophy by philosophical materialism. Feuerbach's philosophy had a great influence on intellectual life, on the formation of revolutionary-democratic ideas on the eve of the 1848/49 Revolution, but it was in the last analysis unsuitable for getting set for and carrying out the revolution because of its abstract image of man and insufficient understanding

of the dialectic. The real consequences for continued struggle for historic progress inherent in classical German philosophy could be raised only from the standpoint of a revolution and of a class that would cast doubt on bourgeois society itself.

So it is not by chance that Hegel's legacy was freed from its idealistic veil and fetter when the workers class began to assert itself on its own in the struggles of history and the social need matured to draw all consequences from Hegel's dialectic. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were the ones to solve this enormous task.

In its idealistic, mystifying form that reconciled the contradictions of the spirit Hegel's dialectic was unsuitable for the revolutionary struggle by the workers class, for that struggle aims at changing the world, at creating a new, socialist order of society, not only at changing ideas. The idealistic veil had to come down to disclose the rational core of Hegel's dialectic. "Hegel's dialectic is the basic form of all dialectics, but only after shedding its mystical form," Karx wrote to Kugelmann, and then added: "and this it is precisely that distinguishes my method."[17]

The scientific decoding of the rational core of Hegel's philosophy was no easy task Marx and Engels could have solved in passing, as it were. Feuerbach's return to materialism already had made apparent that Hegel's philosophy is not surmounted by simply casting aside its idealistic system and its dialectic. What mattered, rather, was to become really serious about the materialistic world-outlook and the dialectic based on materialism and carry it all consistently into all domains of human knowledge.

After quitting the editorial board od RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG in March 1843, Marx came to deal more critically with Hegel's philosophy. In the preface to the "Critique of Political Economy" he later wrote: "The first project undertaken to resolve the doubts that crowded in on me was a critical revision of Hegel's philosophy of right, a work of which the introduction appeared in the 'German-French Yearbooks' published in Paris in 1844. My studies arrived at the result that legal relations, as forms of government, are neither to be comprehended out of themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but they are, rather, rooted in the material conditions of life, the totality of which Hegel, following the English and the French of the 18th century, had designated by the collective term of 'bourgeois society,' that the anatomy of the bourgeois society, however, should have to be found in the political economy."[18]

Dialectic and historical materialism as established by Marx and Engels is the opposite of objective idealism and idealistic dialectic a la Hegel. It is the "suspension" of Hegelianism in Hegel's sense: it overcomes it, contains its rational content and lifts it onto a higher level.

The more deeply Marx and Engels, proceeding from the class interests of the workers class and its historic mission, placed natural and social development under a materialistic analysis, the more clearly they succeeded in disclosing the objective character of dialectical development and explaining it philosophically in a scientific manner. They recognized that Hegel had conceived of history as

a developmental process of human society from lower to higher forms but they criticized that he, to explain the causation in this process, brought in an arbitrary construct, an idea working from without and carried into it. Actually--and this Marx and Engels pointed out already in their first opus, "The German Ideology"--one can only start with man as he really is, with that men work, produce materially, are active under given material conditions and, with it, enter into social and political relations. Step by step Marx and Engels worked out the conception of history in historical materialism, which culminates in the realization that a given mode of production determines the social, political and intellectual life process all-around. They thereby also found the key for understanding the role of classes and of the class struggle, and for the social roots and effects of political, legal, philosophic, aesthetic and other modes of perception.

The study of the dialectic in bourgeois society brought Marx and Engels to the realization that this stage in human development also was historically perishable and to the insight that the socialist revolution and the communist society were historic necessities. The materialist dialectic, further developed and enriched by Lenin, opened the world historic perspective of "human history in its proper right."

The rational legacy of Hegelianism not only received its critical suspension and scientific elaboration in the process that gave rise to dialectical and historic materialism. From various aspects Hegel's dialectic time and time again became the focal point in the interest of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. That was mainly the case when it became a matter of profoundly and ideologically generalizing complicated processes in social development. That is reflected by Marx' work on "Das Kapital" in as model a fashion as by Lenin's materialistic Hegel studies in connection with his analysis of World War I and of imperialism and in his determining the tasks for socialist construction. The classic authors of Marxism-Leninism always again resorted to Hegel's dialectic when deeming it especially urgent to do justice to the dialectical character of reality through an appropriate conceptual orchestration.

The whole history of philosophy after Hegel proves that only Marxist-Leninist philosophy could assume the legacy of classical German philosophy in terms of its progressive intentions.

Of such an achievement the bourgeois philosophy after Hegel was no longer capable. To the extent that the rational in Hegelianism found its spot in Marxism-Leninism, Hegel would become an annoyance to the bourgeoisie. And more than that: his dialectic, the resolute developmental idea, the magnificent historic sense turned into a nightmare for the bourgeoisie because it, theoretically, dealt a death-blow to the apologetic eternity claim of the capitalist order. That was given eloquent expression already around the 1848 Revolution and its consequences.

The German bourgeoisie purchased its inconsistency and lukewarmness in the 1848 Revolution literally by renouncing the revolutionary consequences of classical German philosophy. While the ideal of progress in classical German philosophy was replaced by the bourgeoisie with a "reconciliation theory" pervaded with class compromise, the NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG led by Marx and Engels brought

the "relentless theoretical spirit" of Kant, Fichte and Hegel to bear in that it advocated a resolutely revolutionary program on bourgeois-democratic transformations.

Merely the advocacy of democratic demands by the workers class was enough for the bourgeoisie to defy any progressive bourgeois thought as such. So it is not astonishing that it now regarded Hegel's dialectic as a danger. Arthur Schopenhauer had the dubious honor to attack Hegel with the most vicious expletives and boundless tirades, defaming him as a "disgusting, mindless charlatan and incomporable scribbler of nonsense, emitting a pestilential influence."[19]

That Rudolf Haym in the same decade accused Hegel's philosophy of conservatism also aimed, even if in a different fashion, at rejecting the progressive content of Hegel's, and that means of all classical German, philosophy. What was left initially was the attempt to ridicule Hegel's dialectic as a doctrine of tricks and subterfuge. They would treat Hegel, as Marx put it, like a "dead dog" deserving no more than some mention in the history of philosophy textbooks.

Only when his distinctions, long recognized by Marxism, were lifted up onto the level of scientific philosophic thought, bourgeois philosophy began to come out seriously against the Hegel phenomenon.

In the 1920's, going back to Hegel made vitalism "revaluate" Hegel into Neohegelianism, in which a subjectivistic dialectic was supposed to help solve the new conflicts in the imperialist stage of capitalism. Therein, especially in the relationship of the bourgeois philosophy to Hegel, one finds how much the bourgeoisie had severed its relationship with our progressive legacy. As the apologetic glorification of capitalist class rule and the insane monopoly interest prevail, one renounces that legacy, places it at a distance or corrupts it. But where this progressive legacy receives a firm place in the scientific world-outlook of the workers class, it becomes a target of fierce assaults.

This becomes at present all too clear in the open attacks on Hegel's dialectic in history, as presented by conservatives. Quite in the tradition of militant hostility as established by Schopenhauer, rather than arguments, they are using slander and abuse. They are accusing Hegel not only of opportunism and of having been of a bad character, mainly they seek to defame Hegel as an intellectual precursor of fascism, turning him into a progenitor of "totalitarianism" and, as Topitsch does it, placing him in the ancestral rank not only of "rightist" but even--via Marx--of "leftist" totalitarianism.[20]

From there it is then only half a step to the calumny of the purported identity between fascism and socialism. And that is the step, as we know, the reactionary politicians and ideologues of anticommunism are taking today.

Hegel critique as engaged in by Popper, Topitsch and others also always means to strike at Marxism in particular. The source itself they try to muddy from which Marxism has taken so as to place in doubt from the outset the results of the theoretical work of Marx and Engels. Here it becomes apparent that the defense of the great historic achievements of Hegel against the assaults from his declared enemies always goes together with an aggressive refutation of the anticommunist and

revisionist attacks against Marxism-Leninism. The declared enemies of Hegel always also turn out to be militant opponents of socialism, enemies of social progress.

Now it surely would be a mistake to identify all contemporary bourgeois philosophers as Hegel adversaries. What we rather find is that there is a broad interest in Hegel and his philosophy and, not last, in his effect as a source of Marxism-Leninism.

Only a few months ago a Hegel Congress was held on the occasion of his 150th death anniversary in his hometown Stuttgart, attended by many bourgeois but also by Marxist philosophers. In the discussions of the topic "Kant or Hegel" an attempt was made to opt more for Kant, and thus against Hegel, partly through the interesting argument that Kant was more in line with modern skepticism, but there was also a return to the position "neither Kant nor Hegel," because they had wanted too much, one could no longer follow them.

This "dismissal of the master thinkers," as one FRG paper called the results of the congress,[21] is likely to have been not so much the fault of the Hegel scholars as that of contemporary bourgeois society which, in view of its real lack of any prospect, can no longer afford anything but the most shallow positivism and absurd irrationalism.

By honoring Hegel and understanding his personality and philosophy we appropriate also his conception of our philosophic heritage. Hegel regarded his all-inclusive philosophic system as the culmination and conclusion of all previous philosophic development. His dialectical conception of the course of philosophic thought pointed out ways, however, through which philosophic cognition could be led to new shores. See his "Lectures on the History of Philosophy": "It is as much our position and activity as that of every age to understand the science that exists and to cultivate it and thereby extend it and elevate it onto a higher standpoint. By appropriating it we turn it into something of our own compared to what it was before." Inheritance, to Hegel thus was "receiving and assuming the legacy at once."[22] And that is the way we Marxists use Hegel's legacy.

Making the results of Hegel's philosophy fruitful as a vital legacy for theoretically coping with the present can only mean facing the demands of our era on the ground of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and illuminating them by means of the developed instruments of dialectical materialism, so as to pave the way for social progress.

As a component of the world-outlook of the workers class the materialistic dialectic is an instrument to carry through the socialist revolution and establish socialist and communist society. With it, it is the intellectual outcome of the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The inevitabilities and results of this world historic process are theoretically taken care of through the use of the materialistic dialectic and made a solid element of social consciousness. On that depends its great theoretical and practical effect.

Fundamental transformations are at work today in many areas of public life, in the productive forces and production relations, in government and law, in science and technology, in culture and education, in the mode of living and in international relations. It is not easy to find the crucial process within this overall picture that shapes the whole era and determines its character. Here the capacity of dialectical reason is called upon to assert itself. In contrast to the many endeavors in bourgeois thought to disguise the nature of our era, Marxist-Leninist philosophy and social science have brought out what has been "substantive," i.e., that this is the era in which the whole course of world history tends toward the transition of mankind to socialism, where the revolutionary workers class occupies the center of historic events and social progress is propelled by three great revolutionary currents--the socialist world system, the international workers movement and the national liberation movement.

The struggle between socialism and capitalism has become the pivot of world history. All essential events in world history are connected with it and prove instances in this struggle. Dialectical thought is demanded more than ever to comprehend within the variety of political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, religious and ideological events, processes and controversies the governing line of social progress and to bring it to bear, as in the struggle against imperialism it leads to socialism.

An extremely perilous situation for humanity has arisen today: the most aggressive imperialist U.S. and NATO circles seek to recapture lost power positions, push socialism back, and split and strike down the national liberation movement and the peace movement by starting an insane arms escalation, and a policy of strength, blackmail and threats. In view of the already extant potential of arms of all kinds, especially of the nuclear annihilation potential, that imperialist policy increases exceedingly the danger of thermonuclear world war. The struggle for safeguarding peace has thus become the crucial question on the solution of which all further advances depend.

The dialectical analysis of the issue of war and peace raises the question what the criteria are today against which a progressive stance, humanistic sentiment, readiness for detente and disarmament, and the advocacy of progress are to be gaged. The criteria are reason, as the capacity to comprehend the interconnections and dangers resulting from the arms buildup and confrontation policy in which imperialism is engaged, and rationality, as the capacity actively to engage, in line with that comprehension, in the safeguarding of peace. On behalf of reason and rationality we are ready to work together with all social forces that strive for peace as the highest good of humanity and want to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

The decisive contribution we are making in the GDR to preserve peace, advance social progress and help solve the problems of our age lies in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society in line with the authoritative 10th SED Congress resolutions. In this the materialistic dialectic serves us as a scientific tool for comprehending and consciously shaping our practical social affairs.

In his "Anti-Duehring," Friedrich Engels placed in opposition to Hegel's "cunning of reason," which in pre-socialist societies paves the way to a higher stage of social development without people knowing it, the thesis that in socialism at an ever increasing extent human acts achieve intended effects because they are based on the knowledge of and consideration for social laws. That that prediction was correct has been proven by the historic experiences since the Great Socialist October Revolution and our own experiences. The conscious efforts by the working people led by the working class party, relying on the knowledge and application of the objective laws of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction, have always made it possible for socialism to grow and become stronger. But wherever these inevitabilities were despised there came difficulties and temporary reversals in the development of socialist society.

When Western propaganda and revisionist forces as well, in connection with such difficulties and temporary reversals, talk about a "crisis of socialism," all we can say is that real socialism, where the workers class in alliance with all other classes and strata exercises political power, is a rising society in dynamic development. It prevails while struggling against the old and obsolete in a lengthy historic process of economic, political and social changes. That this process does not run in a straight line and without difficulties is not so hard to understand. Even so, socialism has long proven its historic superiority as a society of peace, real humanism, social security, justice and human dignity over the putrefying capitalist society which can offer men no sure prospects but strikes more and more terror into them. Socialism needs no "renewal" but needs to be constantly strengthened by a clearly targeted policy and leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party closely tied to the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and all other working people.

While Hegel was of the opinion that social progress prevailed behind the back of men acting in history, we today have every good reason to affirm that in socialism the interests and passions and actions of the working people are consciously aimed at reaching an ever higher level of social development. So we have assigned the task to us in the SED Program, and in fact, to continue the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and thereby create fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. This ultimate purpose is served by all our aspirations, our strategic orientation being agreed to by the citizens in our country and being implemented step by step.

Here we rely on the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, which considers knowledge inexhaustible, calls for an ever deeper penetration into the essence of social phenomena and is directly tied to our revolutionary practice, our acting on behalf of the people, being tested, in fact, through our practice. How ludicrous are the bourgeois wishful dreams of a "deideologization," a surrender, of Marxism in the socialist countries, how remote from what things actually are. For Marxism-Leninism promotes, not last due to its dialectical method, the self-awareness of the builders of the new society, which is enriched by new insights every day by what the working people do. It penetrates more and more deeply our social awareness, the intellectual culture of the socialist countries, and is a reliable guide for action. If world history, as Hegel said, is progress in the awareness of freedom and this progress must be comprehended as necessary, so we may state that this awareness strikes ever deeper roots among the citizens in our

country because they themselves have worked out their freedom through the construction of socialism, the constant improvement of their material and cultural living standards, and their socialist democracy. That this realization is spreading ever more broadly we owe, not last, to the persuasiveness of our scientific world-outlook. This, at the same time, also makes great demands on our philosophers and all social scientists.

To explore the dialectic of socialist society is a great challenge to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. This, after all, is not only a matter of comprehending the dialectical developmental process of socialist society out of its historic conditions, its inevitabilities, contradictions, impulses and qualitative stages, but the theoretical knowledge thus gained has to be consciously channeled into our social practice. A understanding of the dialectical character of social development in socialism is expressed above all through the conscious management and planning of the social processes and the constantly increasing purposeful creativity of the masses, which is being fostered in every way by party and government policy.

To cope with the ambitious tasks assigned to us as children of our time, as Hegel would say, to achieve the great aims in the struggle for peace and the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, which we assigned to ourselves at the 10th party congress, and to strengthen still further our socialist GDR politically, economically, culturally and militarily, in the interest and on behalf of the people, we also need our Marxist-Leninist philosophy, which conceives of our time in thought. Indeed, we must tap and make still more useable the great wealth of dialectic and historical materialism, the materialistic dialectic as a theory and method. This also includes a productive use of the legacy Hegel left to us. It lies in our hands.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 52.

2. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 16.

3. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte," Vols III/IV, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 926.

4. Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 197.

5. Karl Matx, "The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx/Engels, Supplementary Volume First Part, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 574.

6. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Phaenomenologie des Geistes," Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 146.

7. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte der Philosophie" (Lectures on the History of Philosophy), Vol I, Philipp Reclam jun. publishing house, Leipzig, 1971, p 150.

8. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Phaenomenologie des Geistes," loc. cit., p 12.

9. Ibid. p 11.

10. Karl Marx, "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 13, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 632.

11. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 22-23.

12. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Wissenschaft der Logik," Part I, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 36.

13. Ibid., p 35.

14. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Philosophie der Weltgeschichte," Vols I/II, Akademie publishing house, Berlin, 1970, p 88.

15. Friedrich Engels, "Bruno Bauer and Primitive Christianity," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, p 297.

16. Franz Mehring, "The History of German Social Democracy--First Part," "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Writings), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 72.

17. "Marx' Letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, 6 March 1868," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1965, p 538.

18. Karl Marx, "Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 13, p 8.

19. Arthur Schopenhauer, "The World as Will and Idea," "Saemtliche Werke" (Complete Works), Insel publishing house, Leipzig, 1979, Vol II, p 95 and Vol III, p 495.

20. E. Topitsch, "Die Sozialphilosophie Hegels als Heilslehre und Herrschaftsideologie" (Hegel's Social Philosophy as Gospel and Power Ideology), Munich, 1981, pp 59, 69, 76.

21. SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, Munich, 4/5 July 1981, p 16.

22. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, "Vorlesungen ueber die Geschichte der Philosophie," Vol I, p 88.

5885
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COLLECTION OF HAGER'S 1972-1981 SPEECHES, ESSAYS PUBLISHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1284-1286

["Culture in Our Lives"--Review by Hans Dieter Maede, member, SED Central Committee; general director, VEB DEFA Film Studio; of "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik" (Discussions on Cultural Policy), a collection of 1972-81 speeches and essays by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] "Why is it important to consider and rate cultural policy as part of the party's overall policy and as a whole? Because a successful and steady development of culture and art in our republic depends on its always proceeding as a part, an aspect of the overall social process." (p 175) The speeches and essays of Comrade Prof Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, recently published in the study series of the Marxist-Leninist cultural and art sciences, bear witness to this historically significant subject matter with great strength of conviction. The publication is a cultural policy event of high rank. The book is an important guidance and working tool in our struggle for fulfilling the 10th party congress resolutions.

The collection starts with the keynote speech Comrade Kurt Hager gave at the sixth Central Committee session in 1972 and concludes with a speech about the "wealth of our traditions" at the initiation of our permanent exhibitions in the German History Museum in 1981. This then is a compilation of papers of the last 9 years. These were years of strenuous efforts toward shaping the developed socialist society. Culture and art have their share in the successful course of these struggles, in the outcome of this great effort by the party and the people. They could bear fruit because our party--especially since the eighth party congress--has always worked out its cultural policy orientations as an organic element of overall policy. This cultural policy is aimed at a "quality of relationship with reality not exhausted in individual and casual experiences--important as they may be--but embracing the whole treasure of historic experience, social insight and political strategy, as it finds its supreme expression in our Party Program." (p 141) That is why our cultural policy is no "'temporary' variant" but a long-range perspective, whereby it creates important conditions "for further advances in the arts based on assured socialist positions." (p 35)

The publication of these papers of Comrade Hager is exceedingly timely because they make intelligible the revolution in the field of ideology and culture as a universal inevitability in the light of our struggles and perspectives. The speeches and essays reflect the high level of the collective thought and historical experiences in our Marxist-Leninist party, and they are eloquent testimony to the author's personal commitment to the complicated processes in our socialist cultural revolution.

A special place is reserved for presentations of the comprehensive character of our conception of culture, as worked out in the report to the eighth party congress and at various Central Committee sessions. This conception has stood up well in practice since then. It "significantly helped in considering culture not as a self-contained department but as a complex social process by the development of which the shaping of socialist society as a whole is greatly affected." (p 80)

In detail explained are the central importance of the leadership role of the workers class, the indissoluble connection and reciprocal penetration of processes in the working culture in enterprises and in the countryside, environmental culture, human relations, world-outlook and education, and aesthetic-artistic culture in the narrower sense. Many people in the GDR have meanwhile understood this great overall connection.

"The socialist cultural revolution is by no means yet complete, however, but it rather must be extended with purpose," Comrade Hager demands while pointing to the penetrating changes that have to be carried out through a lengthy historical process. (p 150) Here the shaping of the socialist way of life is of increasing weight, also with respect to the issue between socialism and imperialism. Comrade Hager makes clear that our Marxist-Leninist conception of the socialist way of life--with conscientious, honest, socially useful work as its centerpiece-- is incompatible "with bourgeois notions of separating the work process from the way of life, labor from life," and he probes the deep meaning in "that the Eighth SED Congress designated elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living as the main party policy task." (p 81).

A central point of reference in all papers in this book is the effect of our broadly designed ideological and cultural influence on the development of socialist personality. This "is no ideal of the remote future to us, its features, rather, form here and now, in the everyday struggle by the workers class and the other working people for fulfilling the manifold tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society." (p 12) The altered conditions for our struggle since, the intensification of the international class struggle, the higher demands made on all working people's dedication, all this makes it all the more necessary to act in the full awareness "that creative initiative at work and in public life and the working people's productive capabilities depend not only on their technical skills and vocational experiences, but largely also on their political attitude, their commitment to our world-outlook, their ideological value concepts and their cultural needs." (p 17) The Marxist-Leninist conception of personality, as the present treatments make clear through many references and explanations, is taken from life and oriented to the tasks and perspectives of the socialist revolution.

It is reality and objective at once. It rules out all bourgeois mystifications of the personality concept and excludes any one-sidedness and narrowness. "Our cultural work deliberately addresses all valuable intellectual capabilities and characteristics of men in socialist society: their political convictions and ethical value ideas, their intellect and sentiment, their objective discernment capability and their imagination, their ability for enjoyment and their sense of beauty." (p 15) People who construct consciously and energetically the new world of socialism and communism, it is stated elsewhere, "are personalities with broad intellectual horizons and rich sensitivity." (p 142).

The wealth of socialist-realist art development, its achievements and tasks, and its problems and contradictions are analyzed and rated in these contributions from the viewpoint of a comprehensive conception. The breadth and variety of socialist literature and art simply are no "concession" but they determine their nature and function as an objective requirement. Party-mindedness and solidarity with the people--irrevocable basic principles of socialist ralism--are not simply "stipulations" set forth but are developed out of the wealth of national and international art experience and of the historically novel social function of the arts. The "indispensable and irreplaceable nature" of socialist art, as endorsed by the 10th party congress, is demonstrated in its peculiarity and effective function and in its dialectical connection with ever new demands made on the intellectual absorption of social development. Current problems and tasks are always closely compared with the work and experience of important masters of socialist art--like Gorki and Becher, Brecht and Anna Seghers. The author devotes much attention to problems in presenting conflict, in coping artistically with contradictions in social development, and to the relation between design and critical elements, and to the importance of ideals and models in our art. With discrimination there are being presented the opportunities and the greater responsibilities the artists have in our republic to take part in the further shaping of socialist value ideas. All these problems are worth considering time and time again. They constitute valuable "fuel" for our dynamic development throughout the 1980's.

A special point must be made of the prominence given to the efforts on behalf of the intellectual and cultural heritage of mankind and especially of the struggling workers class in the studies at hand. Kurt Hager recalls the words of Lenin that one could only be a communist "if he has enriched his memory with all the treasures mined by mankind." He stresses the deep intellectual-cultural rooting our party and our state have taken "in all the international and internationalistic traditions of the revolutionary workers movement." (pp 56-57) The continuity of our party's cultural policy shows up especially also in our attitude toward our legacy, which has always been determined by "that a creative relationship with all valuable and progressive cultural achievements of the past shows deep conformity with the meaning of socialism as the real humanism of our age." (p 201) And this is certain: "The further maturation of socialism in the GDR, the rapid growth in intellectual demands by millions of citizens in our state due to it, but also the intensification of the ideological class struggle call for new and more extensive efforts in tapping and disseminating our traditions." (p 232).

The papers included in this collection impressively attest to the militant character and practical relevance of our cultural policy. In view of the exacerbation of the international situation and the increasing imperialist war threats, the idea of the responsibility and employment of socialist art in the struggle for preserving peace occupies an utterly important place in these papers. Without making light of the seriousness of the situation, the author yet stresses particularly the historically justified optimism in our world-outlook precisely under the current conditions of our struggle. An active stance in life is more than ever called for by the tasks of our time. "Contradictions, problems, difficulties and obstacles arising naturally in the shaping of the dynamically developing socialist society make a claim upon our personal militant dedication, on creativity and, not last, on strength of character." (p 169).

Comrade Hager confirms that the alliance between the workers class and the intellectuals and the relationship of trust between the Marxist-Leninist party and the creators of art have been, are and remain a fundamental principle of our cultural policy. This alliance has stood many tests in its long history. It will prove its solidity when faced with future challenges as well.

As a critical criterion the papers work out the indissoluble unity between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism in the intellectual-cultural life of our republic. Especially the encounter with the history and current achievements of Soviet art, a source of intellectual and moral strength, has become more and more of an unquestioned element of our intellectual life.

With all their high theoretical generalizations, the practical relevance in all papers is striking, without exception. General remarks and demands are always illustrated by real live processes in the large-scale enterprises, the cultural and art institutions, the libraries, museums, concert halls, movies and theaters. This unity of theory and practice, characteristic of our overall policy, makes possible and necessary that the party organizations in all vital areas of our society derive clear tasks for the implementation of our cultural policy strategy. Not last, this also becomes evident by the rigor and tenacity with which Comrade Hager keeps pointing to our special responsibility toward youth and a new artists generation. This responsibility--just as our cultural policy as a whole--is indivisible. With every good reason Comrade Hager points out that our cultural policy is not just the business of a few specialists but that "it is being implemented by many today, being the joint effort of tens of thousands of authors and artists, art historians and creators of culture." (p 211).

The results of this policy can no longer be erased from the life of our republic. Also for the field of culture new far-flung goals were formulated at the 10th party congress. Comrade Hager called a "fundamental prerequisite for the creative work of each an understanding of the connection of all objectives in political, economic, scientific and cultural respects, which only in their totality express the nature and meaning of our struggle for developed socialism." (p 211) The publication of the "Discussions on Cultural Policy" is eminently suited to developing and deepening such an understanding.

5885
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DEVELOPMENT, PROSPECTS OF MEDICAL, SOCIAL SERVICES ASSESSED

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[Article by Prof Ludwig Mecklinger, MD, candidate member, SED Central Committee; minister for health; and Prof Dr Horst Spaar, head, faculty for Scientific Communism, GDR Academy of Continuing Medical Education: "Higher Demands on Health and Social Services"]

> [Text] As an important area of our policy, which serves the good of the people, a high political, economic, cultural-educational and peace preserving responsibility attaches to health and social services. How have health and social services developed on the basis of the political main task course? How can the achievements of modern medicine be used still more succinctly and the quality of social welfare be further improved for the population, and what demands derive from that for effective ideological work?

In the process of the socialist revolution, the health and social services of the GDR, on the basis of the policy of the working class party and in implementation of its resolutions, have received an all-round boost and development. Their systematic organization and performance improvements, oriented to the needs of the people, our social requirements, the achievements of modern medicine and an optimum use of economic opportunities, have greatly helped in bringing to realization the right to qualified health protection for everyone as guaranteed by our country's Constitution.

Today the GDR citizens regard our society's extensive care for mother and child, the health protection for industrial workers, and the care for the sick, disabled and senior citizens as a basic achievement of the socialist order which ensures a high degree of social security and comfort. At the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, asserted: "In the 1980's, health protection for our citizens and the care for their well-being will continue to be a priority concern of the whole society and an important element of our party's social policy."[1] This sets binding criteria which make the highest demands on the political attitude, the moral conduct and the technical

knowledge and skill of each associate in health and social services. At the same time it is necessary that all economic areas directly responsible for shoring up the work in health and social services in a material-technical sense resolutely meet their relevant plan tasks.

Becoming aware of the humanistic character of our social relations and conditions, which in a comprehensive sense ensure health protection and social welfare, is a historic process affected by many factors, especially by a political-ideological work that leads from personal experiences to the realization of more profound interrelations. Although our workers and farmers power did away, from the outset, with the barriers which under capitalism complicate working class access, especially, to health care, a lengthy transition period was needed to overcome the old and create the new and make apparent and perceptible for everyone the humanistic nature of socialism and its values and advantages, as its possibilities allowed, in health and social welfare.

With the shaping of the developed socialist society, for which the Eighth SED Congress drew up the strategic concept, and especially with the orientation to the main task, the party initiated, as an inseparable component of its total strategy, a new chapter of its social policy as well. Through greater attention to the inevitable connection between production, social requirements and individual needs, which is taken care of by our economic and social welfare policy in their unity, social security, supported by high-level and extensive medical care, attained a new quality which fosters the socialist way of life and fashions personality development.

The sociopolitical program, the basic orientation of which the ninth party congress turned into a standard party program component, proceeds from that social dimension and pursues the goal "to assure all members of society, through social production, of an existence which not only is wholly adequate materially and becomes richer day after day, but which also guarantees to them a complete and free cultivation and activation of their physical and mental capabilities."[2] This suggests another aspect in our understanding of it: genuine social security is the outcome of a complex implementation of basic human rights that none but socialism can guarantee. Neither is it divisible nor can it be brought about by way of reformist compromises. Millions of working people in the capitalist countries whose jobs are sacrificed to capitalist rationalization, and thus to profits, and who have to pay for the military buildup by having their hard-won social rights slashed, are finding out right now how correct, and how bitter, that realization is.

The Responsibility of Health and Social Services

Being the most important area through which socialist social policy is implemented, health and social services in the GDR bear a high political, economic, cultural-educational and peace preserving responsibility to the continued shaping of the essential features of developed socialism, with the development and the efficacy of the subjective factor becoming more and more of a crucial faculty. That applies principally to the quality and effectiveness of medical and social care which is further to be improved by making medical and nursing care conform with a mode of human encounter and mutual respect that is adequate to socialism. Millions

of contacts the citizens have with health and social services, in out-patient medical care, in the hospitals, pharmacies, leisure-time centers and nursing homes, day-care centers and other areas not only are objectively contacts with real socialism, but they are also prominently reflected, subjectively, as such. The better our accomplishments in medical and social care, the more they radiate human welfare, the more they express the humanistic essence of socialism and help shape the image of socialism among our people.

This places a high moral obligation on physicians, nurses and all other associates that must always be borne by the realization that in the citizens' contacts with health and social services socialism is embodied by those personalities who know them by name and by sight. As such contacts arise and take place mostly under extraordinary life situations, special importance attaches to the relations between physicians and patients and between nurses and patients. That involves a relationship of trust, which through the skill and motivation of the physician at once expresses the desire of society to protect, improve or recover a person's health in accordance with optimum criteria. That corresponds to our party program pronouncement: "The citizens shall be able to choose a physician they trust."[3] This civic right of principle demands of all who work in medical care an attitude of respect, confidence, empathy and helpfulness.

Health and social services bear a high responsibility toward the economy, thanks to the stable and dynamic development of which our state and its working people, in resolutely carrying on the main task in its unity of economic and social policy since the Eighth SED Congress, have made available considerable material and financial means to ensure medical and social care. Furthermore, health and social services also have repercussions that directly boost our economic development. Their work being committed to humanism, they exercise a direct influence on the reproduction of labor and the augmentation of the social labor capacity. In close cooperation with economic management organs, the enterprises and the trade unions, the public health associates are making greater efforts to reduce excessive sick-leave. And this by no means exhausts the repercussions of health and social services. They are manifold in nature and range all the way to moral aspects. If, e.g., a mother knows her child is well taken care of in the day-nursery or a man knows his wife is well taken care of in the hospital, that is likely to be a factor that benefits their work.

As all other work, medical work too has its applications and its result. There is no contradiction there because in socialism, for the first time, humanity and rationality are inseparably united. Nothing could contradict the purpose of socialism as much as turning "thrift at any cost" in human health care into a principle or, worse, putting an economic squeeze on it, as is done by the cost depression laws in the FRG. Equally wrong, however, would be the assumption we could draw on unlimited resources in our medical work. While in diagnostics and therapy proper scientific methods mark the measure of what is required, with its inherent significant economic effect, for the rest one should always consider that the principle of thrift in socialist public health serves the make society richer still faster, and more effficient through health and social welfare.

The socialist state guarantees all citizens their political freedoms and social rights, which includes the right to health protection, material safety in cases of sickness and accidents, for old-age and disability. Resorting to these rights deliberately also places high demands, however, on each citizen's own personal responsibility in this area. Health and social services are making an important contribution to it, the effectiveness has to be further improved. This contribution, to be made through the everyday work of the physicians, nurses, welfare workers, physical therapists and other associates in their contacts with the citizens, ranges from health education in the more narrow sense of the word, the setting of models, via providing a scientifically sound world-view on health and efficiency, all the way to releasing initiatives for deliberate, purposeful conduct on behalf of one's own health and that of one's fellow-men. This is a component of the cultural-educational function of the socialist state and can only be understood that way as a characteristic feature of socialist public health.

Reliably to ensure at all times the protection of peace and of the socialist accomplishments, we must also improve our medical services for our national defense, particularly in view of NATO's arms buildup resolutions. That applies to providing our mobile military forces with medical services as well as to ensuring the population's medical protection within the scope of civil defense. Here we let ourselves be guided by that socialism and peace determine each other and that a strong socialism is the best guarantee for secure peace.

Main Task Policy--Stimulating Health and Social Services

The 10th party congress came up with a fine balance-sheet on the development of medical and social services for the citizens. Except for the Soviet Union, no other state in the world has in the last decade done as much for its citizens' health and social security as the GDR. Thanks to the steadily growing efficiency of our economy, the thus far most copious material means and personnel resources since the eighth party congress were allocated for health and social services.

At this time the number of people working in health and social services rose by more than 100,000, so that today more than 480,000 associates take care of the citizens' health and social welfare. That comes to circa 6 percent of all people working in the GDR. The number of physicians rose from 27,200 in 1970 to 34,000 at this time, of dentists, from 7,350 to 9,700. Having one physician for every 494 inhabitants and one dentist for 1,724, the GDR reached a high level in 1980. By the expansion, reconstruction and new construction of health and social welfare institutions, for which merely since 1976 a sum of some M 5 billion was spent, the medical and social welfare network for citizens in town and countryside was made much finer and more efficient. New hospitals were put into operation in Halle-Kroellwitz, Jena-Lobeda, Neubrandenburg, Nordhausen and Suhl. The first construction sector of Charite, the largest investment in our public health, and the construction of the hospital in Karl-Marx-Stadt are about finished. Other large efficient hospitals or university clinics are being built in Berlin-Koepenick, Cottbus, Frankfurt/Oder, Gera, Greifswald, Halle, Leipzig, Potsdam and Schwerin. This decisively improves medical care for the population, especially in industrial centers. The basis for out-patient medical care has been broadened since 1976 by 3,137 new jobs for physicians and dentists. By setting up 54,829 places in day-nurseries, further account was taken of the great need for them in the last

five-year plan, whereby the GDR has considerably extended its peak position in the world in taking care of children up to 3 years of age. The veterans of labor received in the same period 24,600 places in leisure-time centers and nursing homes. Remarkable advances also were made in social benefits for the heavily disabled. The capacity in foster-home vacancies for children and adolescents unable to learn in school, responsive to and in need of special care was enlarged by 5,140 of them.

By expanding the network of health institutions and their staffing with qualified personnel, favorable preconditions were created to implement our health policy orientation, make accessible the accomplishments of modern medicine to all citizens in town and countryside, improve the quality of diagnosing, preventing and treating diseases, and further deepen the confident relations between citizens, physicians and health institutions. Especially those areas in medical care were developed and further expanded on a priority basis which are most frequently resorted to. This enabled us to expand out-patient medical care into an efficient area, even if today there still exist differences in terms of territories and specialties, and perceptibly to improve the level of general medicine and pediatrics. By strengthening the personnel in fields of surgery in the hospitals, we broadened the introduction of effective, if expensive, diagnostic and therapeutical techniques, especially to control life-threatening diseases. Also the possibilities for resorting to specialized and highly specialized medical care were noticeably improved through a better utilization and specialty employment of available and the introduction of new capacities. In the special departments of intensive care, orthopedics and urology, over 60,000 more patients received qualified medical care, often saving their lives, in 1980 than in 1970.

Our internationally exemplary status of health protection for industrial workers was further improved. More than 70 percent of GDR workers get medical and labor safety protection right in the enterprise in which they work. Through close cooperation among physicians, economic functionaries and the trade unions, we succeeded in further reducing health hazards on the jobs and the number of job-related illnesses.

Further advances were also made in the health protection of mother and child. The fatality of newborn was reduced from 18.5 per 1,000 live births in 1970 to 12.1 in 1980. In the same period, maternity fatality was reduced from 4.3 per 10,000 live births to 1.8. Our country's citizens have an average life expectancy of 60 years for men and 75 for women. This gives men an extra 5 years and women an extra 7 since our republic was founded.

An important prerequisite for the fine results in medical care came from the systematic promotion of the scientific potential of medicine in implementation of the pertinent party and government resolutions. Favorable effects come from the measures taken on improving the training and advanced training of medical college and technical school personnel, which has led to more scientific procedures and practical relevance. The decision on the development of medical research likewise shows its first positive effects favoring more of a concentration of the medical research potential on scientific priority tasks, the quality and scope of interdisciplinary cooperation and the research cooperation with the

socialist states, in particular with the USSR. The GDR's medical science associations have an important influence on the scientific activities in public health and thus, on the quality of medical care.

In his report to the 10th party congress, Comrade Erich Honecker remarked: "The positive results of medical care, as the successful implementation of our social policy all-around, have a favorable effect on our population's state of health."[4] In that the physicians and nurses have a decisive share. Through their sacrificial work, often done through a high personal dedication, they have creatively contributed to the development of our health and social services.

The achievements of the GDR's public health system meet with great international interest and recognition, especially within the framework of the World Health Organization. A visible expression of it was the 31st European Regional WHO Conference held in the GDR capital in September 1981. Such conferences offer the experts from the capitalist world the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the socialist public health system "in situ." Among the impression worthy to be generalized are, among other things, the general accessibility of all health institutions to all citizens; the organization of the health system in terms of basic, specialized and highly specialized care and its proportionate development according to needs, with attention given at the same time to an optimal ratio between specialization and integration; the systematic development of the material-technical base of public health; the physicians' and nurses' high degree of technical qualifications and their basic ethical attitude; the understanding of democracy in the health institutions; and the self-assured posture of the associates and the position of the nurse as the partner of the physician with her own independent responsibility. The representatives of capitalist countries also showed themselves impressed by the great sociopolitical expertise of the local state and economic functionaries and the representatives of social organizations, from which they logically deduced the overall social context in which our health and social services are embedded.

Capitalist Countries Slashing Social and Health Services

While our party policy creates increasingly more favorable preconditions for the citizens' health and social services, the Reagan Administration has started the most massive large-scale attack on the standard of living of people working in the United States. To finance NATO's inane arms buildup course, many fields in social policy were attacked which even under Carter were still held to be taboo, especially the medical and social welfare programs. Similar processes are at work in the FRG and other NATO states that are yielding to the pressure from U.S. armaments politicians.

Releasing funds from the social sphere by means of state monopoly regulations comes in two ways. For one thing, health and social programs or publicly financed institutions are reduced or disbanded. And then, the social insurance benefits are reduced and the premiums are raised for the insured to ease that way the social obligations of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the state.

Public health in the United States, which despite all reform measures taken by U.S. presidents in the past remained a field of increasing social polarization, is hit especially hard by this red-pencil policy for the benefit of the Pentagon. The deletions put into force by President Reagan on 1 October 1981 considerably reduce health benefits for circa 50 million Americans, mainly members of the lowest social strata and of the national minorities. Among the 270 social program positions cut also are the 25 large government medical care programs and the two federal health insurance programs for poor and senior U.S. citizens.

Medicaid, essentially a benefit program for the poor, is slashed by $ 1 billion annually, with the result that the health care centers (Medicaid Mills) which have handled out-patient medical care for 29 million claimants must reduce benefits and some facilities must even be closed down. For Americans beyond the age of 65 the savings under Medicare, their health insurance, mean that they must themselves pay for a larger share of their medical and hospital costs than before. Eight hospitals and 27 public health clinics lose their federal funding as of 1 October. While in some cases communal administrations seek to take them over, the others are closed down. Their patients must in the future resort to the expensive private clinics they can ill afford.

The FRG likewise, for the benefit of armaments and corporate profits, more and more infringes the working people's social claims the workers class had won for them. Within the scope of overall cuts by cost depressing measures, circa DM 2 billion are to be cut in 1982 in public health. Hidden behind that are the reduced entitlements and higher premiums to be paid by the insured as well as cut-backs in medical prescriptions and services affecting the scope and quality of medical care. Almost all measures contained in the new cost depressing program aim at making it harder for the FRG citizen to gain access to medical care through legal insurance. Especially hard hit are the poor, mainly the growing number of unemployed, many pensioners and the foreign workers and their families.

In the United States, the FRG and other capitalist countries the social cuts in health again lead to a rapid intensification of class and strata-specific distinctions in medical care and access to it. The saying, "because you are poor you must die earlier," which has never lost its appropriateness in capitalism, is more topical than ever and reinforces the value judgment on the much extolled "social" and "humanitarian" attribute of that society.

Tasks of Health and Social Services After the 10th Party Congress

That in socialism the humanistic mission of medicine and the professional ethics of physicians and nurses fully conform with the interests of society and the policy of its leading force is corroborated by the guideline of principle issued by the 10th SED Congress for health and social services in the next 5 years.[5] As an important element of social policy, on which the social comfort and personal well-being of the citizens and the contentment and happiness of the families greatly depend, the public health protection is to be perfected through the unity of preventing, diagnosing and treating diseases and subsequent care. It means applying the accomplishments of modern medicine still more specifically to the well-being of the citizens and further improving the quality and efficacy of public medical and social welfare.

The 10th party congress has confirmed that it will still be necessary in years to come to aim our efforts, above all, at fulfilling those tasks that are of importance to the majority of our citizens and have a great effect on their state of health. That includes improving basic medical care in the now deliberately emphasized combination between in-house and out-patient medical care, especially in the large cities and industrial sprawls. It is also a matter of strengthening surgical and rehabilitation areas in hospitals and the theoretical-experimental disciplines in terms of personnel and making further noticeable improvements in out-patient medical care, especially in general medicine, dentistry and neurology-psychiatry. Among the tasks the solution of which facilitates the citizens' access to qualified medical care also is the expansion of first-aid to more kreises in the GDR.

In accordance with the orientation of principle in socialist health policy we generally have to expand in years ahead the proportion of prophylactic services in medical care. That is an important requirement for out-patient medical care. Dispensary care must also become more efficient and skillful. Among its positive effects will be better health protection for mother and child and for the working people in the enterprises. And then there are such tasks as more effectively fighting against cardiac infarction, high blood pressure, cancer, metabolic diseases, psycho-nerval disturbances, chronic respiratory diseases, rheumatic diseases or selected contagious diseases, which are going to be subject to long-range programs. That also means that the organs and facilities of hygiene and labor hygiene must through their activity support still more effectively the complicated process of making working and living conditions more hygienic.

To make more rapid progress in specialized and highly specialized medical care we must still more adapt the hospitals' performance profiles to the requirements resulting from the morbidity structure and concentrate specific diagnostic and therapeutic techniques in selected facilities. In specialized medical care we are systematically increasing the scope and quality of the specialized fields of orthopedics, first-aid surgery, urology, pediatric surgery, vascular surgery and chronical dialysis. In highly specialized medical care we mainly have to improve the services of cardiac, neurological and transplant surgery.

In years ahead the hospital will gain increasing importance as a diagnostic-therapeutic center within the system of public medical care. The new hospital framework order also has positive effects on it. A commensurate system for setting up out-patient medical care facilities is under preparation. The hospitals referred to, which are still under construction or being outfitted, will become operational during the current five-year plan. Investment and maintenance means available above and beyond that will be used primarily for the reconstruction, modernization and, wherever necessary, the expansion of hospitals housed in old structures.

In the field of social services we continue to take account of the great need for places in day-nurseries and in leisure-time centers and nursing homes and for age-specific dwelling units. According to the party congress directive, this five-year plan has to provide for between 50,000 and 60,000 places in day-nurseries, between 18,000 and 19,000 spots in leisure-time centers and nursing homes, and between 18,000 and 21,000 dwelling unit vacancies for senior citizens. Still

more perceptible will be in years to come the social welfare for physically and mentally disabled. That is why the 10th party congress called the attention of the state organs, enterprises and social organization to drawing those citizens into the life of our society by expanding the opportunities for medical and vocational rehabilitation, handicap considerations on the job, and more favorable living and recreational opportunities.

Research is of extraordinary importance for solving the tasks in health and social welfare. Along with results in exploring work-related illnesses, the scientific principles for the health protection of pregnant women, mothers and children, and the causes of chronic and other diseases, we also expect of the years ahead advances in the diagnosis and treatment of diseases and in dealing with life-threatening conditions. Also for lending greater skill to the management and planning processes in health and social services research must create important bases.

As there has formed a close cooperation between the biosciences and medical research, so also social science research (Marxist-Leninist philosophy, ethics, economics, sociology and others) is gaining ever more importance for the medical and social care process and for medical research.

As the decisive connecting link for further performance improvements in health and social services the 10th party congress has stressed the increasing importance of the qualitative factors. That combines with growing demands made on the knowledge and skill and ethical-moral conduct of the physicians, nurses and the other associates. To meet these demands and achieve a better quality and effectiveness everywhere, it is necessary to pay the greatest attention to education and training, especially of the university and technical school personnel, and do a great deal to boost the life in the sciences.

Coping With the Tasks Serving Life and Health With High Awareness and Expertise

With the ambitious tasks the 10th party congress has assigned to the health and social services there also grows the political responsibility of the associates to helping in the further improvement of public health protection through their great personal dedication and employing more effectively the extensive possibilities created by society on behalf of the citizens. It is especially important and indispensable to bring the qualitative growth factors to bear fully on medical work and social care. Medical research and education, the deepening of confident relations between the public health associates and the citizens, the development of cooperative work in the health institutions, the most suitable use of material funds and personnel resources, and good labor organization more and more determine the quality and efficacy of medical work on the whole.

In every health and social welfare facility and in every work collective a kind of atmosphere must be created in which the associates' dedication and creativity develop still more effectively and a conscious attitude toward the profession and close ties with socialist society are formed. Such an atmosphere at once makes qualitatively new and higher demands on the management, planning and organization of health and social services and presupposes a close combination between high technical requirements and stronger political-ideological work with the physicians and all other associates.

Through an aggressive and persuasive presentation of the basic issues in domestic and foreign policy, especially of the interconnections and requirements of the struggle for peace and the consequences resulting from the intensified international class conflict for the all-round strengthening and defense of socialism, we must deepen the socialist national consciousness of the associates in health and social services and further consolidate their ties with the workers and farmers state and the awareness of their responsibility to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. That implies developing still more strongly our friendship with the Soviet Union and our proletarian internationalism, disclosing the increasing aggressiveness of imperialism, its anti-human cynicism, its course toward an aggressive war of extinction, and its general attack against the social situation of the working people, and vastly improving the ideological education of the associates based on Marxism-Leninism.

We have all the prerequisites for it, due to the impressive balance-sheet for the 1970's, which can in every collective turn the justified pride in what has been achieved into an important performance motive for implementing the goals of our social policy and thus also our health policy in the 1980's. And this will become all the more successful, the resolutely we rule out everywhere any manifestations of hostile ideology.

Our policy, tested by life and aimed at the well-being of the people, is the strongest argument against any enemy designs at upsetting our confident relations with our citizens by slander and targeted attacks against the health services of the GDR. We surely need not fear any comparison with the capitalist countries, where the working masses have to bear the armaments madness by continuing cuts in social benefits. Even under the more difficult conditions we are holding to the course that moved us ahead so mightily in the 1970's--which shows itself precisely also in the sociopolitical concern for the associates in public health.

Clarity about the basic political issues of our socialist state, a reinforced class standpoint and a position consciously taken by the medical intelligentsia alongside the workers class are a great source of strength for strengthening the subjective factor in health and social services, which forms the greatest reserve for our performance improvements. The effect must be further boosted through socialist competition and must be reflected in the ethical-moral conduct of all physicians and nurses and in their accomplishments. Experience exchange and performance comparisons among the health and social welfare institutions, learning from best results and vivid scientific activities, quality analysis, control and self-control are tested methods for surmounting level differences in medical work, of which more use must still be made. The further development of socialist democracy and involving all associates in the responsibility for solving our tasks and surmounting the partly still surviving administrative working style will be of benefit to it.

Cadre work is a crucial connecting link for further improving the work in the health and social services. In the development of management cadres we are concerned with experienced and politically steadfast cadres with comprehensive and solid specialized medical knowledge, high ethical-moral traits and the ability to lead collectives. Cadre work is a task that aims at the future. That calls for giving more thought to forming cadre reserves and promoting and educating a

new generation of scientists. In the work with people we always have to see to it in health and social services that among the associates in the work collectives the kind of relations develop and shape themselves that encourage the relationship of trust between public health and our population and help us in coping with our ambitious tasks in the service to life and health.

All the greater is the party organizations' responsibility for effective political-ideological work. Boosting its strength of political radiation means to them always to care again for a truly mass-related working style, relying thereby on the proven principles of the party's alliance policy, and to promote every day diversified political conversations with the medical intelligentsia, the nurses, the adolescents and all other associates. That is of necessity a constant task that must be exercised under party organization leadership by the state managers in close cooperation with the enterprise trade union managements and the FDJ managements.

The 10th SED Congress has charged the associates in health and social services with great and beautiful tasks which are aimed in every way at human welfare and deserve and require a conscious commitment from all of us.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 110.

2. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 263-264.

3. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 26.

4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 111.

5. Cf. "Direktive des X. Parteitages der SED zum Fuenfjahrplan fuer die Entwicklung der Volkswirtschaft der DDR in den Jahren 1981 bis 1985" (10th SED Congress Directive for the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development of the GDR, 1981-1985), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 71 ff.

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EFFECTIVENESS OF LABOR CODE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) pp 1270-1274

['Information' feature article by Heinz Sievert, sector chief, SED Central Committee: "How Successful Has Our Labor Code Been?"]

[Text] Relevant Publications

"Arbeitsgesetzbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik mit Einfuehrungsgesetz" (GDR Labor Code With Introductory Law); published by Verlag Tribuene, Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1977

"Unser Arbeitsgesetzbuch. Eine Einfuehrung" (Our Labor Code. An Introduction); published by Verlag Tribuene, Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1977

"Arbeitsgesetzbuch und weitere arbeitsrechtliche Vorschriften" (Labor Code and Other Labor Law Regulations); published by Staatsverlag der DDR, [East] Berlin, 1975

"Schriftenreihe zum Arbeitsgesetzbuch der DDR" (Series of Articles on the GDR Labor Code); published by Verlag Tribuene, [East] Berlin

"Among the 74 laws the People's Chamber has ratified since the ninth party congress," Comrade Erich Honecker remarked at the 10th SED Congress, "the Labor Code stands out which, as proposed by the Ninth FDGB Congress, was passed following a broad debate. As a Magna Charta for labor it has extended the right to work as a basic human right and expanded trade union rights."[1] When it came into force 4 years ago, another significant step was taken in making socialist law still more effective as a power instrument of the workers class, so that it helps, in particular, in successfully implementing the course of the main task with its economic and social welfare policy in unity.

"The Labor Code is the basic and cohesive codification of socialist labor law."[2] It sets down all legal prerequisites for the workers class to be able, mainly through its class organization, the FDGB, to assume its growing responsibility

and shape all relations in the labor process in such a way that labor productivity and efficiency as well as personality development, fashioning the socialist way of life, are enhanced.

Resolutely applying the provisions of the Labor Code helps encourage the creative mass initiative of the workers class and all working people and still better apply to the further strengthening of economic efficiency the great impulse of our socialist society found in the conformity in principle between social requirements and personal interests. Also under the changed internal and external conditions, it is found, the concrete norms of conduct are an important practical guideline for the actions of the working people in the sense of the economic strategy for the 1980's as developed by the 10th party congress.

After having been in effect for 4 years, we have every good reason to state: the working people accept the Labor Code as their law because it constitutes the legal basis for their social security and well-being in our socialist society and for their developing their capabilities and talents and it gives them much room for meeting their social responsibility. And so, with an ever greater sense of responsibility, they exercise their comprehensive rights to taking a creative part in the shaping of socialist society. That is most clearly reflected in the visible upsurge of socialist competition before and after the 10th SED Congress and the results achieved thereby.

The evidence is that by means of the Labor Code the working people's basic political and social rights are still more rigorously ensured and that abiding by its regulations helps further develop and use more rationally our social labor capacity. Another plus is that the Labor Code regulations help make the socialist performance principle prevail and facilitate the implementation of scientific labor organization and the respect for socialist labor discipline. The unity of rights and duties is consolidated, and the protection of socialist property from damage and risks is ensured more extensively.

How well have some important Labor Code regulations been implemented?

Securing the right to work: A special focal point of the Labor Code concerns the extension of legal guarantees for ensuring the right to work.[3] While the host of unemployed is rapidly growing in the developed capitalist countries, for the GDR citizens the right to work has become an accepted fact, a secure achievement. This unequivocally demonstrates the superiority of our socialist order over the imperialist world, ridden by crises, unemployment and existential dread. While millions of workers in the capitalist countries connect the term "rationalization" with an apprehension about losing their jobs, among us the inviolable principle rules that rationalization measures are never carried out at the expense of the working people but serve their well-being and that with their help labor becomes more substantial and productive, yielding better results that are of advantage to the society as well as to the individual.

The regulations on establishing, amending and terminating labor law relations have found to be appropriate for making, in the assignment of labor, economic requirements conform ever better with the working people's personal interests. The extended trade union rights have been found most appropriate to it.

Regulations on concluding labor contracts foster responsibility in the work of the enterprises in selecting and assigning personnel and enhance the working people's guarantees for steadily assuming their right to labor. To a larger degree still they ensure the working people's uninterrupted participation in the labor process and thus benefit the further development of their capabilities. The regulations on amendment and delegation contracts take into account more than they used to do any needed adjustment to permanent or temporary changes in work conditions, increase the disposition of manpower and, with it, take the working people's personal circumstances into consideration. As concluding such contracts presupposes conformity of intent between the enterprise and the working people, collective and individual interests can be made to harmonize still more.

The transitional contracts make it possible that--mainly in necessary operations procedural changes in connection with rationalization measures--labor continues without interruption and the planned management of manpower which is possible in our socialist society can become still more effective. Especially through implementing the Schwedt Initiative, which is gaining a foothold in more and more enterprises, the idea is, as one knows, to conclude at a good time alteration, training and transitional contracts with working people whose jobs can be cut down in consequence of a more rational organization of labor, so that they can adjust to and prepare themselves for new jobs early in the game.

Behind every cutback in jobs and slots there are human beings "with their specific and individual characteristics, desires and problems."[4] To take this into account in socialist rationalization and draw up labor law contracts in such a way that the optimum use of our labor capacity will harmonize with the working people's legal guarantees is an important task in socialist management which must be vigorously supported by the party's basic organizations and their managements. The implementation of the Labor Code objective in legal policy has also for some time been given much support by the labor offices in existence. Through close cooperation between local state organs and enterprises, e.g., manpower reserves were tapped and increasing economic tasks were handled primarily through territorially available manpower. With the consultation and referral services becoming more effective in those offices, some of the working people who wanted to change jobs could be persuaded to hold on to their jobs, which diminished the fluctuation rate.

Making the socialist performance principle prevail: In conformity with the SED Program the Labor Code has determined that the performance principle is rigorously enforced as the basic distribution principle in socialism[5] so that we get a still more effective incentive for further economic and social progress, increased labor productivity, a socialist attitude toward labor and public property, and fine labor discipline and labor ethics. This orientation--reconfirmed by the 10th SED Congress--also determines the direct application of the wage and bonus policy principles contained in the Labor Code, especially in our extending our performance-oriented wage policy further.

The implementation of our performance-oriented wage policy, mainly the gradual introduction of production wages in connection with scientific labor organization, has proven a way, apt to be generalized, that conforms with our economic requirements. It boosts performance and makes sure that labor wages are geared to performance. That is why it has found the full approval of the working people.

Efficiency improved most in enterprises where

--the working people were from the very outset drawn into the preparation and implementation of all measures for further perfecting production and labor conditions, for introducing new technologies and procedures for reducing working hours and cutting back jobs, and into the preparation of new performance parameters and the application of performance-oriented wages;

--the working people were helped in acquiring the needed new labor experiences and in their developing their knowledge, abilities and skills in the labor process, and where the experiences of the best workers, notably their progressive working methods, were rapidly and effectively generalized, which means that all the conditions were established for enabling the working people to accomplish their tasks, including the performance parameters connected with them; and

--all such measures were prepared and implemented under the managers' personal responsibility and in close cooperation with the trade unions while strictly abiding by socialist legality.

Improved labor organization and labor discipline: The cooperation among all economic areas needed for a high rate of economic growth presupposes fine labor organization and labor discipline. "Improving the rhythm of labor and reinforcing labor discipline are priority concerns for economic management and for political education and economic incentive in terms of the performance principle."[6] As practical surveys keep showing, the Labor Code regulations on labor organization and socialist labor discipline are doing the job.[7] Results achieved essentially depend on how smoothly the labor process is organized in the enterprises in accordance with scientific labor data, and with the working people taking part in it, standstill and downtime is ruled out, and all the premises are set for fine labor discipline and order and safety in the labor process. In view of increasing production criteria, the rational organization of labor processes and the full capacity use of working hours are becoming ever more important for our improving our economic efficiency. While in 1976 we achieved an industrial output of M 850 million per calendar day, the figure had risen to M 1,480 million as early as in 1980.

This is only one more reason why we have to see to it everywhere that no time is wasted. The many work collective initiatives aimed at that merit the full support from party and trade union organizations.

Surveys show that notably those collectives show a fine labor discipline which consider exemplary order, discipline and safety a regular element of the struggle for the title of "socialist labor collective." Permanent successes have been achieved where exercising a resolute and purposeful influence is taken for granted in the work collectives and the managers know everything about how to bring their political-ideological and labor law influence to bear, make use of it, and rely thereby firmly on the social forces (trade union groups, lay judge collectives, safety activists and so forth).

Industrial labor regulations and precise stipulations for labor projects in functional plans and other industrial documents also have turned out to be indispensable. Most enterprises have reviewed and made substantive improvements of their labor regulations with reference to the Labor Code. That also has improved order and discipline.

Protection of socialist property: The Labor Code regulations effectively enhance the working people's responsible conduct in the labor process and various initiatives for the protection of socialist property. Analysing the experiences of those enterprises that are setting examples in securely protection basic assets, material supplies and financial values from harm, one finds they

--firmly embed in their political-ideological work the formation of a responsible attitude toward the protection of socialist property;

--accurately delineate the areas of responsibility and thoroughly work with functional plans;

--make a resolute use of the opportunities the managers have to issue instructions;

--use a well considered system to account for and examine the causes of damages and to establish responsibilities and eliminate the causes for damage;

--effectively foster socialist competition to consolidate legality, order, discipline and safety; and

--make the fullest use of the possibilities for material accountability.

Ensuring health and hazard protection: Through socialist rationalization and enforcing scientific labor organization, good results were achieved in ensuring labor safety and improving hygienic conditions in the enterprises. That has been largely due to including labor safety protection in socialist competition. In recent years increasingly more work collectives in all economic areas have assumed commitments for meeting the plan without accidents or breakdown in line with the Basov Initiative and for ensuring order, safety and discipline. The labor accident rate was reduced by nearly 30 percent between 1970 and 1980. Whereas in 1970 we still had 40.8 labor accidents under reporting obligation for every 1,000 workers in our republic, the rate dropped to 29.0 in 1980. The number of fatal work accidents dropped in the same period by nearly 40 percent. Nonetheless, as Comrade Erich Honecker said at the Ninth FDGB Congress, "we think the number of labor accidents is still too high. Attention and vigilance must still be heightened. It mainly is a matter of greatly eliminating their causes, which often will amount to lack of order, cleanliness and discipline on the job."[8] At the 10th party congress he also called for resolutely doing away with hazardous, heavy physical and monotonous activities.[9]

In view of that, the improvement of health protection and labor safety and the use of all other potentials for reducing accidents and illnesses deserve a solid place of concern in the political-ideological work with the managers and all other working people. Particularly, it is a matter that our society's concern for human welfare, as expressed in the resolute effort to prevent accidents and

illness, be placed in the center of attention. And at the same time it is necessary to make people constantly aware of the effect accidents and illnesses have on the rational use of our social labor capacity, and thus on the fulfillment of industrial tasks, and make them aware of preventive measures.

If one takes into account the tasks indirectly connected with labor safety, the prevention of fire, breakdown and other disturbances, it becomes clear that still greater efforts can prevent rather large-scale economic losses. All the more welcome is the initiative of many work collectives "which in the movement for exemplary order, discipline and safety are making successful efforts to preserve and protect all that which has been produced."[10] With today's degree of production concentration and the increase in the size, complexity and value of installations, it is necessary to enforce safety and order through the higest sense of responsibility. There are concrete handles here for our political-ideological work. No party organization must allow the destruction, through disorder and the slighting of legal regulations, of what progress in social development has brought us through production intensification. Basic party organizations that instill great party, labor and state discipline in their members, and the readiness always to exploit all reserves for the sake of greater economic efficiency, are acting in accordance with our 10th party congress.

Instructing in labor law: Our positive balance-sheet on the efficacy of the Labor Code also is largely due to the publicity and training activity of recent years. The enterprises conduct circa 50,000 training exercises annually. Conveying basic knowledge about our labor law also has been more strongly drawn into the total training and advanced training process. One may mention here the initiation of the mandatory course on socialist law in training, the systematic labor law training in the master's program, and the training of future technical and economic management personnel in the field of labor law at the universities and technical schools. It is also worth mentioning the vast number of publications.

Conflicts commissions have gained great distinction for having the Labor Code take effect by stubbornly opposing deficiencies and paving the way for an increasingly better application of labor law. Furthermore, the appearance of members of the conflicts commissions is of great importance for disseminating legal knowledge and further enforcing legality, order, discipline and safety. Judges, prosecuting attorneys, lay judges and members of the trade union law commissions also perform valuable work in law education. The judges alone are called upon approximately 90,000 times a year for opinions on labor law.

Inferences for political-ideological and law propaganda work: Political work with the Labor Code and labor law as such should keep its pace. That also means: its objectives and results should be geared to the tasks of the 1980's. The Labor Code warrants great attention everywhere in view of its political significance to the socialist labor law and the socialist legal order in our ideological work. The matters that are tied up with it play a prominent role in management activity and in our everyday dealings with the people. It also means that the managers must inform the working people on all important matters and see to it that their recommendations and suggestions are conscientiously processed and the working people's legally guaranteed rights are resolutely realized. A

sense of responsibility and care are exceedingly important withal, to ensure that the political value of the Labor Code is not curtailed through any negligence in management activity, inadequate legal knowledge and unresolved contradictions within enterprises.

On behalf of a still more resolute implementation of socialist labor law, the law propaganda activity in the further analysis of the 10th party congress ought to be closely combined with offering interpretations of the basic political issues of the party, government and trade unions, and all working people are to be given the idea that rights and duties exist in unity. Where the enforcement of labor obligations comes staunchly combined with granting the legally vested rights and with the everyday care for the working people's well-being, managers will succeed in managing their enterprise collective with the goal of "fulfilling and exceeding the plan tasks of the enterprise" as well as of "fostering the development of the working people into socialist personalities and improving their working and living conditions."[11] Working in that sense, on the basis of the Labor Code, and taking account of the realization that order and discipline are prerequisite to the active exercise of power by the workers class, and that respect for legality is an essential part of party and state discipline, will greatly help strengthen further our socialist fatherland.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 115-116.

2. GDR Labor Code, p 7.

3. Ibid., chapters 1, 3, 16 and 17.

4. Werner Frohn, "Hoeher veredeln ist vorrangiges volkswirtschaftliches Gebot. 13. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Enhanced Refinement Is an Economic Priority Precept--13th SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 137.

5. Labor Code, chapter 5.

6. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 52.

7. Labor Code, chapter 4.

8. Erich Honecker, "We Have a Program for Growth, Prosperity and Stability," "Reden und Aufsaetze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 392.

9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht . . .," loc. cit., p 56

10. Ibid., p 119.

11. Labor Code, Article 18, p 13.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 36 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 11 Nov 81) 'Resumes' addendum

Advantages of Our Society--Driving Forces of Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1190-1198]

> [Text] Socialism's historic superiority over capitalism with respect to making the scientific-technical revolution prevail is due to the ability it has in effectively combining scientific-technical with social progress. What advantages does socialism have in speeding up the development of science and technology? How do we use them in bringing them to full effect as driving forces of creative action? Which requirements arise from that for purposefully managing and coping with the tasks pertaining to the implementation of our party's economic strategy?

Party Work in the Struggle for Scientific-Technical Progress

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Hans Modrow, economist, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Dresden Bezirk Management; pp 1199-1205. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Material Rewards, Penalties Recommended," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] The implementation of the party's economic strategy calls for a science policy resolutely oriented to the requirements of long-term economic efficiency and quality development. Bezirk management, thus, in its leadership activity, aims at having each combine purposefully work out its scientific-technical strategy and translate it, step by step, into concrete tasks. It induces the party organizations to provide for a creative climate in the R&D collectives and uniformly conduct the political struggle for high achievement.

Effective Combination of Science and Production in the Combine

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Fritz Haberland, economist, department head, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED Central Committee; pp 1206-1213. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Incentives to Promote Creativity," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] Because the opportunities of our scientific-technical revolution have become the main reserve for performance and efficiency growth, the article probes the focal points arising from it for management aiming at more efficient scientific-technical work. Aspects of a target-directed motivation for the research drive and of its rigorous economic orientation and of the formation of a scientific-technical potential in the combines provide interesting suggestions.

Demands Posed by Microelectronics

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Dr Egon Heusing, engineer, operations director, VEB Robotron Accounting Machines Plant, Karl-Marx-Stadt; pp 1214-1217. A translation of this article is published under the subheading, "Problem of Worker Displacement," as part of a series of related items under the heading, "Measures to Improve S&T Progress in Combines Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

> [Text] How do advanced combine enterprises solve the demanding tasks resulting from the introduction of microelectronics in the production process? How is the creative potential of the entire enterprise collective put into effect? How can the advantages of socialism in the process of the scientific-technical revolution be translated into increasing efficiency in everyday work? These questions are answered with reference to the VEB Robotron Accounting Machines Plant, Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Scientific-Technical Progress Viewed Through the Distorting Mirror of Bourgeois Futurologists

[Summary of 'The Topic' feature article by Prof Dr Eberhard Fromm, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1218-1224]

> [Text] What has become of the earlier science and technology euphoria of bourgeois ideologues? What caused them to depart from their faith in progress of the 1960's and early 1970's and their inability to understand the dialectics of social progress in our era? On the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, the idea of social progress and the struggle for making it prevail in our time are borne by the revolutionary workers class.

In the Service of Peace and Communist Construction

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1238-1244]

[Text] As all previous volumes, the eighth volume of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's speeches and essays, just published, dealing with the period between April 1979 and March 1981, the time when the 26th CPSU Congress was being prepared and held, is a mirror image of the party's work committed to social progress, and of Lenin's land. With it, the speeches and essays bear witness to the crucial personal share of one of the most important politicians in our era in the creative Leninist policy of the CPSU and the Soviet land.

Effective Action of All Peace Forces--Urgent Call of the Hour

[Summary of article by Dr Erich Huettner, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1245-1252]

[Text] The peoples' increasing resistance against the imperialist confrontation and arms buildup policy--seeking a reactionary way out of the deep crisis of capitalism--against the war danger conjured up by the course of the U.S. Government. Causes for the mass movement that is spreading and gaining increasing influence in the NATO countries themselves. The socialist countries' peace policy, marked by realism and circumspection and expressing the vital interests of humanity.

Monopolist Offensive Against Workers' Interests

[Summary of article by Dr Joachim Nitsche, economist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1263-1269]

[Text] With the exacerbation of the foreign policy confrontation course the most aggressive and reactionary forces in the capitalist world are also launching their offensive against the interests of the workers class and all working people. They are eager to load the burdens of the crisis in their system onto the shoulders of the exploited, make maximum monopoly profits and shore up their high mobilization programs financially. Massive unemployment, inflation and cuts in real wages and social welfare are the consequences.

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WORKER MILITIA TRAINING RESULTS FOR 1981 REVIEWED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 25 No 11, Nov 81 pp 1-2

[Front page editorial: "On Reviewing the Political and Combat Training for 1981--A Few Initial Findings, Experiences, Indications and Conclusions"]

[Text] The review of the political and combat training represents the first intermediate stage of the socialist competition in connection with the evaluation of the documents of the 10th SED Congress and on the basis of the competition appeal of the Rostock "Ernst Thaelmann" KGB [workers militia battalion]. The commanders had thoroughly prepared the measures and they responsibly implemented them in all units under the direction of the leading party organs and of the administrations of the enterprise party organizations and with the support of the state leaders and of the People's Police comrades. They provided an objective picture in regard to the quality of the training and on the level of fighting strength and combat readiness of the combat groups of the working class. At the same time, they created important preconditions for the further training in 1982, especially in regard to the tactical exercises.

On the basis of the results of the review, the commanders are able concretely to determine the training level attained and to take the measures necessary for further improving the quality and effectiveness of both the political training and the combat training.

The political direction of the units by the leading party organs and party organizations again turned out to be a factor of crucial importance. The party organs insured systematically organized, goal-oriented and disciplined political-ideological and organizational work on the part of the commanders of all ranks and of the secretaries of the party groups in the units.

Findings and Experience

The political-ideological work was focused on making clear to every member of the combat groups the political and military significance of the review and on insuring successful operation of the units in the course of the review. In this connection, it became apparent that the problems related to and resulting from the political and combat training are important not only in regard to the time of the review. In taking their training measures in the course of the year, the commanders are to take them into consideration to a greater extent. In regard to the preparation and implementation of the review, the following forms and methods of political work have proved expedient:

1. Early deliberations of the leading party organs and of the leaders of the enterprise party organizations and continuous control of the measures taken by these organs.

2. Timely consultations of the commanders with their deputies, with the platoon leaders and NCOs and with the party group secretaries in the platoons.

3. The individual and differentiated discussions conducted with the combatants by the leaders of the enterprise party organizations and by the commanders with the object of familiarizing the combatants with the tasks and objectives of the review and with the requirements and hardships to be expected and of urging them to meet these requirements and thus to fulfill their obligations in the socialist competition.

4. The practice-oriented military-political training and the practice-oriented extracurricular advanced training of the commanders, deputies and NCOs. The pertinent subjects specified in the programs have proved to be very suitable for making all of the combatants aware of the magnitude of the tasks and requirements.

5. Imposition of concrete party assignments by the appropriate party organizations so as to insure that the Communists produce the desired model effect.

6. Inclusion and preparation of the platoon leaders and NCOs for tasks pertaining to the political work.

7. The brief meetings at the beginning of the reviews, at which leading party functionaries or commanders asked all the members of the units to demonstrate through good and excellent results that they are willing and able honorably to meet the requirements and competition obligations; at these meetings, the functionaries and commanders also urged all Communists and superiors to set an example.

8. The information provided in the breaks and evening hours on current political events and on the state of the review; the individual talks in the groups, the continuous work of the party group secretary and of the platoon and group agitators in the platoons; the work in connection with the news sheet. The methods--inform, mobilize, observe, analyze, evaluate and generalize--have been improved.

9. The strict organization and direction and the objective evaluation of the socialist competition.

10. The continuous work of the political deputies, platoon secretaries and platoon and group agitators, as a result of which the combatants attained a high level of performance readiness, participation and initiative.

Instructions

In the endeavor to develop the combatants' performance readiness so as to insure success in the field, it became apparent that this readiness is largely determined by the quality and effectiveness of the political and combat training. Whenever the training was combat oriented, complex and in[illegible]ing, it had a mobilizing effect on the knowledge and convictions acquired in the military-political training. But when it was conducted in a routine fashion, when only little initiative was

required and when it contained hardly any elements of risk and surprise, the combatants frequently were reluctant to undergo hardship and privation.

This clearly shows that the preparation of the military-political training and the preparation of the combatants must be well coordinated and carried out with maximum educational effect. The coordination of these two essential aspects of the training of socialist combatants is an important precondition for insuring that the combatants, NCOs and commanders meet the complex requirements of combat missions. Thus participation of the trainers in the political work is not only expedient, but indispensable. However, during the methodological training or during the training preparations, it is necessary more effectively to demonstrate the most effective forms of political work, to point out at what stages these forms should be employed, to show how to politically motivate the combatants, how to meet the socialist competition obligations in regard to the individual training stages and training problems, and how to utilize and deepen in the course of the training the knowledge acquired in the military-political training and in the extracurricular advanced training.

Some Initial Conclusions

The well-prepared and rigorous reviews conducted in the units have shown that under the direction of the leading party organs and of the enterprise party organizations good results have been achieved--on the basis of the increased requirements specified in the training documents--in regard to the training level of the combatants and commanders. The level of fulfillment--ranging from good to very good--of the measurable criteria and norms impressively underscored the improvements in the fighting strength and combat preparedness of the combat groups of the working class.

The increasingly exacerbated situation in regard to the international class struggle and the further increases in the fighting strength and combat preparedness of the combat groups of the working class make it imperative further to consolidate the leading role of the Party in the combat groups and to pay due attention to the political-ideological work. At this stage of the training, efforts should be made to facilitate attendance of leading party and economic functionaries at combatant meetings and their participation in training seminars, reviews and tactical exercises.

Although there is no doubt that progress has been made, it is necessary to direct undiminished attention to upholding the quality of the extracurricular advanced training, of the methodological training and of the combat-oriented complex training. This goes also for the strict enforcement of discipline, order and revolutionary vigilance.

Again it became apparent that precise organization and direction of the socialist competition as an integral part of the training process make it necessary to determine the appropriate elements of competition and the planning and organizational stages of the training at which these elements should be employed. This applies to the participation of the majority of the combatants in the preparations for training measures and to the organization of the training as a competition or performance comparison, the organization of mutual support, the fruitful exchange of experience during the training breaks, the furnishing of moral and material performance incentives and the systematic work with the most advanced individuals.

In this way, the socialist competition made it possible in the reviews and in the training programs to launch and utilize goal-oriented initiatives for the attainment of the training objectives. In this regard, conscientious direction of the socialist competition and objective evaluation of the individual and collective commitments are of great importance for the development of initiative and performance readiness in the combatants and NCOs. It still happens quite frequently, however, that valuable capacities of the combatants are not utilized. Pledges are accepted that are too general and insufficiently concrete; the evaluation in the platoons and companies is treated as a mere formality; the combatants do not see how the results come about and thus they doubt their accuracy. So if one wants to attain genuine commitment, performance readiness, initiative and full participation in the socialist competition, one must strictly observe and enforce in the unit the party guidelines and standards—formulated in the resolutions and training documents--in regard to the entire organization and direction of the socialist competition.

To encourage and even organize enterprise and initiative is an integral part of the work of all instructors and commanders. And they are obligated to submit--in true party spirit—to the critical judgment of the combatants. Any disregard for their pointers, critical remarks or suggestions impedes the willingness to participate in the decision-making process, to show enterprise and initiative, and it also detracts from the authority of the commander.

In the endeavor to attain a high level of fighting strength and combat preparedness in the units, it became apparent that the socialist competition has increasingly become a crucial factor in the intensification of the training. Intensive training--i.e. full utilization of the time and material means available, but also full utilization of the combatants' intellectual and physical capacities—were the object of attaining a high level of performance. And this is not only a question of accurate planning, preparation, implementation and objective evaluation of the training by the instructors and commanders; rather, the primary objective is to make the combatants, NCOs and commanders participate--consciously, concretely and systematically—in the organization of the training.

The review also showed that the role of the instructors is assuming greater importance. In order to motivate and enable the combatants and collectives to show initiative and enterprise in the training, the instructors should always set well-planned, concrete tasks they can account for. To accomplish this, the instructors must inform the combatants and collectives about the content and the significance of the training so that they can see the objective and purpose and--through their active participation--the value of their creative involvement.

During the training, the goal-oriented guidance and assistance, control and objective evaluation of the results and the instructor's party-oriented objectivity and exemplary work promote initiative-producing participation and involvement. In this regard, the comrades of the People's Police should support the commanders still more effectively.

Another task is to place more emphasis on the initiative of the group leaders--or individuals of equal rank. As a rule, they have received formal training, but they do not yet have the experience and methodological skills required. In combat, they must fight and at the same time lead and make decisions determining the success or

failure of their group. So their initiative and responsible actions are at a premium. These qualities must be systematically consolidated by the commanders and instructors.

The importance of well-trained, disciplined, goal-oriented, enterprising and courageous group leaders is pointed out all the time. Nevertheless, it still happens that platoon and company leaders dispense with the participation of their group leaders and themselves lead the combatants. Thus it is not surprising that some combatant comrades consider the platoon or company leader--rather than their group leader--to be their superior. However, no commander can or may dispense with the initiative of the group leaders.

The combatants' and collectives' initiative and readiness conscientiously and thoroughly to learn the training subjects and consciously to participate in the discharge of their military class mandate is to them an integral part of the struggle for a high level of fighting strength and combat preparedness in the combat groups of the working class. To support them in this is an important task of the 1982 training year.

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SOCIALIST REALISM TO BE APPLIED 'MORE PRECISELY' TO MUSIC

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 181, 10 Dec 81 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Report from Berlin: "GDR Composers Argue About Socialist Realism." A translation of the East Berlin SONNTAG article cited below follows the commentary.]

[Text] The East Berlin SONNTAG has confirmed that, as a result of the fourth theoretical conference of the composers association in Magdeburg, a "debate on new realism" is in store for GDR composers. A more rigorous and more exact application of the concept of socialist realism is called for. It is no longer possible as in the past indiscriminately and quietly to subsume under socialist realism everything which is now being produced by way of music in the GDR. According to the East Berlin cultural publication there are, however, considerable differences of opinion among composers and musicologists in the GDR as to what kind of music conforms to socialist realism.

Cultural Policy Paper's Article

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 35 No 49, 6 Dec 81 p 6

['Art and Literature' feature article by Gerhard Mueller: "Remarks on a Realism Debate: More Curiousity About New Developments"]

> [Text] With the following article we would like to call on our readers for a discussion of problems of contemporary music and for insight on opinions, hopes and aspirations.

The Fourth Theoretical Conference of the Association of Composers and Musicologists of the GDR took place in Magdeburg in November. Its theme was "Socialist Music Culture of Today" and the main presentation was made by Heinz Alfred Brockhaus, member of the presidium of the composers association and chairman of the commission on musicology. Nineteen speakers participated in the discussion including scientists such as Guenter Mayer, Frank Schneider or Siegfried Bimberg as well as composers such as Friedrich Schenker, Wilhelm Neef, Rainer Bredemeyer, Siegfried Kowhler and--a first at such a conference--the popular musician Bernd Aust of the "Elektra" group and the songwriter Stefan Koerbel of the song theater "Karls Enkel" [Charlie's Grandson]. The purpose of the meeting was to draw up a

definitive balance of the music cultural process in the 1970's before the conference of the central delegates of the Association of Composers and Musicologists (VKM). It succeeded in having a variety of aesthetic standpoints presented in all candor. This candor was the most positive result. It did not formulate a definitive aesthetic position. In view of the complicated and radical changes in the way music is produced and in view of the new musical awareness opening up in our society, theory was able to formulate questions but hardly able to give aesthetically grounded, inherently musical answers. It is clear that a new debate on realism is in store for us in the 1980's. It would be the first one that would start out on the basis of its own specifications rather than on the basis of a predominance of literature as has been the case up to now. This alone would be a considerable step forward. The discussion evolved into an evaluation of the 1970's in which--as the Berlin musicologist Klaus Mehner put it--a change in "the musical model" was completed. The new generation of composers which appeared at the beginning of the 1970's skipped over the formerly predominant classical schematic and found their articulation in a modern tonal language whose bold harshness was felt by many to be anti-traditional and which drew controversial reactions. For some this is merely a refurbishing of modern composition techniques of mostly bourgeois origin which have been accompanied by a simultaneous loss of substance in their content. They criticize the excessive complexity and the resultant lack of resonance of these works and contrast it with light music with its popular idiom, with the down-to-earth resoluteness of the political song, and with classical models. Others see just the opposite in this music, a gain for realism, a growth in artistic capacity critically to overcome the contradictions of reality and to take a position with regard to the great questions of our time. For them political songs, folk song culture, and pop music do not produce models for symphonies but complementary sides of a unified music cultural process even though filled with contradictions. Both standpoints met, however, not as irreconcilable opposites but as different ways of illuminating one and the same set of problems. Although the polemics which preceded the conference, especially as they appeared in the press, may have produced the impression that the supposedly "elitist" concepts of the 1970's were destined to be paralyzed outright by a "new simplicity", things proved to be otherwise at thss conference which searched for an integrative, dialectical understanding embracing new possibilities for music production and the satisfaction of music's cultural needs.

In his presentation Heinz Alfred Brockhaus called for a more rigorous and more precise application of the concept of socialist realism. One could no longer, as in the past, indiscriminately and quietly subsume under socialist realism everything that was being produced by way of music in the GDR. That is no doubt correct but he failed to illustrate with a practical example. The attempt to base the concept of realism on a broader understanding of music than has been the case up to now seemed more important to me. This was hinted at by him and more precisely expressed by Guenter Mayer. Despite occasional protestations to the contrary, in our musical aesthetics up to now, the question of realism has been directed exclusively at the traditional genres. Mayers concept of music includes light music, beat, political songs, film and theater music as well as concert and operatic music, all on an equal basis. It is tendentiously appropriate to lead aesthetic theory directly to the foundation of the music cultural porcesses in our society and to determine the possible uses of music with regard to the masses of real listeners. The abstract listener with abstract uniformity in his demands on all kinds of music should

thereby be dismissed from our discussion. In order to arrive at a more precise determination of the music theater achievements of the 1970's, Gerd Rienaecker broadened the concept of music theater to include instrumental theater like that of Friedrich Schenker's "Missa nigra" and the song theater which emerged from the song movement. Peter Wicke, who examined mass music processed, called for a progressive conception which is not measured only against symphonies, and explained his understanding of this with the somewhat too handy formulation that it is not the masses who should be led to artistic progress but artistic progress which has to be brought to the masses. Peter Spahn's call for a higher rank for light music in the totality of music culture rather than considering it as light music only, had a similar goal. However, the refreshing directness of such theses hides the danger of new confusion, for entertainment is something different in symphonies than in a disco, and mass effect is not an abstract quality of compositions which can be technically produced but also and above all the capacity of the masses to take possession of developed artistic works and put them to use. A musical conception which considers immediate acceptance as a criterium for all genres on an equal basis would inevitably tend to view with pessimism works such as the orchestral music of Paul Dessau or Ernst Hermann Meyer, or the compositions of Reiner Bredemeyer, Friedrich Goldmann, Friedrich Schenker, Udo Zimmermann, Siegfried Koehler or Siegfried Matthus and to doubt whether they could make a lasting imprint of their own beyond changing fashions. If you want to jump far you have to take a long run and--to cite Frank Schneider--there is no point in mutual accusations of neglecting content or form instead of examining the real chances for music of varying usage under the conditions for development offered by socialist culture which is fortunately not market oriented.

Curiosity for new things, which Reiner Bredemeyer missed in his statements during the discussions, also has its place to be sure. It is a problem, for theory development and new theoretical formulations will not be found without this curiosity. Many talked about new music with an air of conspiracy, so to speak, without naming works or names. How should anything come out of that? The aesthetics of music cannot take form out of the turmoil like Wotan the Wanderer and be a disinterested observer. Whoever wants to make his mark cannot shy away from the noise of battle.

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